The FIREBRAND of BOLSHEVISM

THE TRUE STORY OF THE BOLSHEVIKI AND THE FORCES THAT DIRECTED THEM...

BY

PRINCESS CATHERINE RADZIWILL

Dan Chunn
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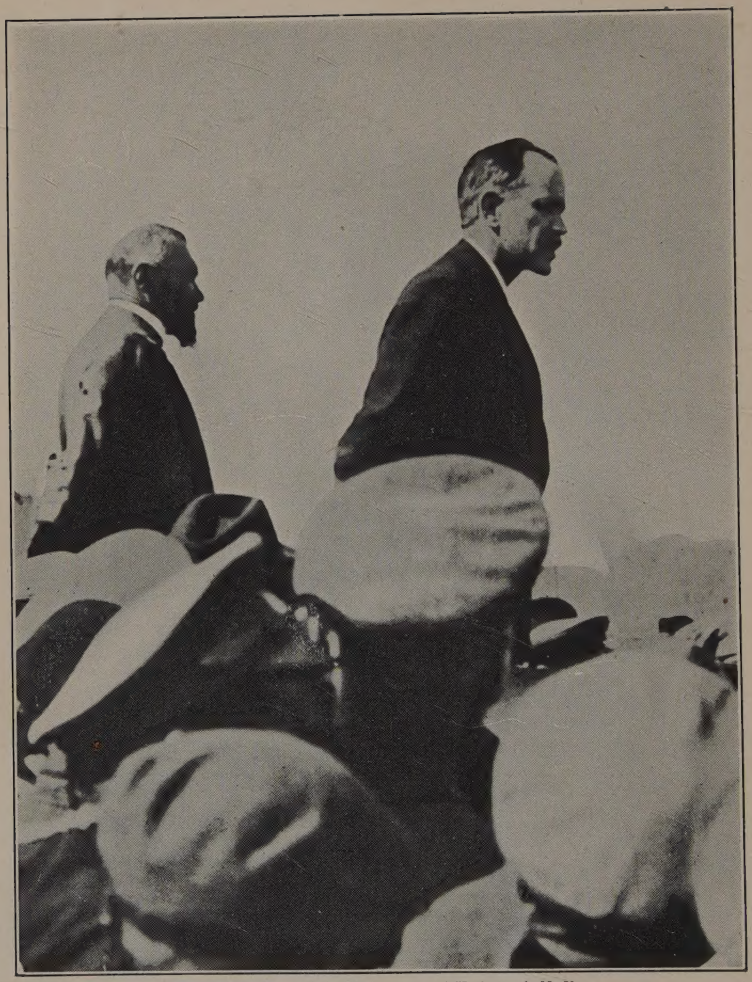

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Lenine (at left) and Trotzky marshalling their forces for revolt

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The True Story of the Bolsheviki and the Forces that Directed Them

BY

PRINCESS CATHERINE RADZIWILL

Author of "Sovereigns and Statesmen of Europe," "Rasputin and the Russian Revolution," etc., etc

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CHAPTER I

THE SECRET SERVICE PREPARES FOR WAR

The facts presented in the following pages may perhaps not be accepted without surprise and wonder as to their authenticity. The world at large has not yet quite appreciated the full extent of the secret intrigues which were carried on in the former German Empire before and during the war that was to break its might and destroy it. And yet the whole fabric of German politics was built on these intrigues. From the time that Bismarck instituted his famous Bureau of Espionage, these machinations were steadily going on throughout the whole of Europe and in America as well, and it seems desirable that the activity of this bureau in its nefarious work in Russia be exposed in somewhat the same manner as has been done for the United States in that remarkable recent book "The German Secret Service in America."

I cannot pretend to write anything so interesting as the volume in question, but nevertheless the story I am about to relate is also curious, the more so because at the present time Bolshevism, which only came to life thanks to the aid and coöperation of the German government, has invaded Germany in its turn and threatens to reduce it to the same condition to which it reduced Russia — a state of general chaos.

Bismarck has been credited with establishing the Prussian Bureau of Espionage, for so it was called in Berlin where the French words were always used in connection with it. But in reality Bismarck had nothing to do with the idea of the organization of this special department of the vast machine over which he presided, though later on it became his pet institution. The man who first conceived the idea was a personage who for something like thirty years was the most powerful being in the German Empire, though few people had met him and fewer still knew the extent of the might he wielded. This personage was Baron von Holstein, known to a small circle who surrounded Bismarck as the " Grey Eminence." This circle considered the Baron so dangerous that even statesmen like Prince Hohenlohe, whose position ought to have put him beyond the fear of any attack,

dreaded him and did their best to propitiate him and win his favor.

Baron von Holstein was a remarkable man. For one thing he was that rare being in this world, an absolutely disinterested individual, who cared only for power, and this for power's sake alone, without the slightest desire for personal advantages or personal grandeur. He only wanted to be the authority behind the throne; to rule the world without the world even being aware of his existence. He had entered the Prussian diplomatic service immediately after the Prusso-Austrian campaign of 1866, and some people, who later on figured among his bitterest enemies, liked to relate a story concerning him, which I repeat without vouching for its authenticity, though, viewed in the light of subsequent events, it seems more than probable. According to this story Holstein, then quite a young man, had visited Madrid as a tourist early in the year 1870 and became acquainted with a lady who was supposed to exercise a considerable influence over the mind of Marshal Prim, then the leading personage in Spain. The question of finding a successor to the recently deposed Queen Isabella was agitating public opinion in the Spanish Peninsula, and Holstein's friend spoke to him about the possible

likelihood of Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern being persuaded to accept the Spanish crown. The idea had been raised first during the autumn of 1868, but had fallen through due to the opposition of the King of Prussia who wanted no member of his family to run the risk of becoming a dethroned monarch. This was really what the proposed honor amounted to, as no one with the slightest political experience could be so lacking in wisdom as to imagine that a foreign prince would have the least chance of remaining on the Spanish throne for more than a few months. William I had, therefore, discouraged his cousin from acquiescing in the proposed plan.

It seems, however, that there were people in Spain who still nursed the idea that it would be for the country's interest if Prince Leopold could be induced to accept the throne, and the lady in question said as much to Baron von Holstein. He of course took refuge behind his total ignorance of the ideas of Count von Bismarck on the subject, but he suggested that a certain Bernhardi, a secret agent of the Prussian government, might canvass the candidature in Berlin. The lady understood, and it is very probable that Marshal Prim understood too. A few days later Baron von Holstein returned to the Foreign

Office, but said nothing to anyone in the Wilhelmstrasse, not even to his immediate chief, of his conversation at Madrid; indeed when Bismarck questioned him concerning it one day in Versailles, he merely replied that he had not considered himself important enough to think that anything he might have heard or said could interest the Minister, but that he had tried in Spain as well as everywhere else to serve him and the intentions he supposed him to have.

The story goes on to say that Bismarck merely remarked that he did not often find people who were willing to do so. After this the career of Baron von Holstein prospered in an amazing manner, though he was never given a post abroad, except that of Councillor of the Embassy in Paris under Count Arnim and Prince von Hohenlohe, where he played an important part in the war scare of 1875. Afterwards he returned to Berlin and never left the Foreign Office where he was almost as powerful as Bismarck himself.

During the winter of 1870-71 the German Headquarters were at Versailles, and Bismarck discovered that the General Staff ignored him wherever and whenever it could. This angered him, but he did not know how to counteract its influence over the mind of the King whose sym-

pathies had always leaned towards his military advisers. Then Holstein, who was attached to the Chancellor as private secretary, once more stepped on the scene and proceeded to explain to Bismarck a plan on which he had been working since the beginning of the Franco-Prussian war. This plan was nothing more or less than the organization of the formidable *bureau d'espionage* which became such a powerful weapon in Bismarck's hands, and to the ability of which he owed more of his extraordinary success than he would ever have cared to own.

In some ways von Holstein was a genius, and most certainly one of the most extraordinary men who has ever lived. He had one great ambition; that of knowing everything about everybody and of ruling everybody through fear of the disclosures he could make were he at any time tempted to do so. He was absolutely indifferent to high position, titles, decorations or money. His tastes were of the simplest; his wants but few. He could appreciate a good dinner, but he could be equally content and never feel unhappy with a dry crust. During the years he worked by the side of Bismarck he proved a most admirable helpmate, and his administration of the special department of the Foreign Office of which he

was the head was perfect. But when Bismarck was dismissed, Holstein did not show the slightest sympathy, parted from the Chancellor as coldly as he did everything else in life, and continued his own special work with the equanimity which had never deserted him at any time in his existence. He was a born spy, and liked nothing better than to be able to spy on others.

Bismarck held von Holstein in high esteem, and when the latter went to him with his plan for establishing a vast organization of almost universal spying, the Chancellor of the new German Empire immediately grasped the advantages he could obtain from it. But even he did not then realize how powerful such an organization would become. Holstein recruited his agents in every country and from every class of society — men and women, rich and poor, high and low. No matter what the social condition or the material resources of the people whom he took in hand, he compelled them to execute his orders which for the most part consisted in bringing to him certain knowledge he required. His first care, whenever an individual capable at a given moment of playing a part, no matter how humble, in the great drama attracted his attention, was to ferret out all that could be learned about him or her.

With few exceptions he contrived to lay his finger on a hidden secret. Once this preliminary step had been performed to his satisfaction, the rest was easy. The unfortunate victim was given to understand that he would be shamed publicly at any time, unless . . . unless . . .

Thanks to this simple system of intimidation, the German Secret Service, which proved so useful to Bismarck first and then to his successors, was instituted with much trouble but with magnificent results. Not only Berlin but the whole of Europe was subjected to an inquisition which left absolutely no loophole of escape. The German Foreign Office knew everything and made use of everything, but later on Holstein became so jealous of his work that he never confided all its details to any one. When he retired, the edifice, which had been so near perfection with him at the head, lost its importance and in a certain sense hindered rather than helped Bethmann-Hollweg during his tenure of office.

In the Prussian Intelligence Department as Holstein organized it there was hardly a person of note or consequence in Europe about whom everything was not known, including, of course, his weaknesses and cupboard skeletons. And this knowledge was used when necessary without

any compunction or remorse. After Holstein's retirement, however, there was a different spirit and the activities of this wonderful department were transformed in the sense that they were applied to the task of bribing people rather than of intimidating them.

The story of the greatest bribery for which it was responsible I am going to relate; the story not only of the corruption of individuals but of a whole country. Russia, which so many have called a traitor, never betrayed any one, but she was herself betrayed by those in whom she had hoped to find saviors. All the details of the conspiracy to which she fell a victim are not known and probably will never be known in their entirety, but what can be established, thanks to the documents published by the Creel Information Bureau with the sanction of the United States government, is the fact that the so-called Bolshevik movement which brought so much evil to Russia, only became possible through the German government spending money to bring it about. It is also apparent that the so-called treaty of Brest-Litovsk, which has now become one of those scraps of paper to which Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg alluded in his famous conversation with Sir Edward Goschen, would never have been

signed had not Germany contrived, thanks to her intrigues and her lavish use of money, to put at the head of the Russian government puppets like the men called Lenine and Trotzky, the latter not even a Russian subject. The destruction of the former realm of the Romanoffs was caused not so much by the disasters which befell its armies as by the corruption of men, who were thrust into positions for which nothing fitted them, by banknotes most of which were not even genuine.

The full extent of the Bolshevik movement and the part which Germany played in its development is not sufficiently known and appreciated. It ought to be told, if only because it may help in understanding the fact that it is just as necessary to fight Bolshevism as it was to fight Prussianism of which it is the worthy child and descendant.

The present crisis in Russia is the most momentous one which that country has ever had to undergo, and the fact should be known that it was provoked entirely by German interference. The betrayal of Russia into German hands was but too true; however, there was one comfort in the tragedy in this fact, that the villain of the piece, Leon Trotzky, was not a Russian but a German Jew. However, he does not stand alone, for beside him are other sinister figures, just as mischievous and

just as dangerous to the future peace of the world. These figures were allowed to assume the importance to which they have risen through the direct work of the Espionage Bureau of Berlin, which all through the drama worked at putting them in evidence and giving them the means to reach the one great aim it had in view — that of transforming Russia into a German province.

I may now explain how I came to write this narrative. Before the war began I was preparing a book on the labor question in Russia. This led me to instigate researches among anarchist circles in St. Petersburg, and I was aghast to find that most of these circles derived and sought their inspiration from Berlin. I then remembered the past — what I had seen and heard and had the opportunity of observing during the years I spent in Berlin in my youth. Later on in St. Petersburg, thanks to my intimate relations with the men who ruled Russia in the reign of Alexander III, I had constantly been led to notice the extent of German intrigues in that country. A few months after the beginning of the war, I left Russia for Sweden, where I spent three years. There I once more had the opportunity of coming in touch with the dark underhand work of the Prussian Espionage Bureau. I made it my business to

study the German methods in the hope that the study might permit me to render services to my country and to the Allies. Fate favored me to a considerable extent, for I met many Germans who made no secret of the fact that they were political agents of the Wilhelmstrasse. I also met through my numerous Russian acquaintances who, like myself, had transferred their residence to Sweden for the period of the war, other Russians, some of whom unfortunately had allowed themselves to be led astray by fine promises which were never meant to be kept. I therefore got to know and learn many things and, as it turned out, I became the friend of a man who, in order to gain information for the Allies, succeeded in going to Berlin where he penetrated into the haunts which I am going to describe in speaking of the offices of the Intelligence Department in Berlin. This description is taken from his words. I shall find myself now and then compelled to put words into his mouth when relating certain facts and this will explain the personal character which may prevail in many passages of this book. I shall call this man Captain Rustenberg. He pretended to be with the Prussians heart and soul while in reality he was seeking means to thwart them in their designs, so disgusted had he become with the methods

employed by men whom he had once believed to be honest; whom, later on, he found to be nothing less than criminals striving to win a war, they had brought on deliberately at a time when no one thought it could ever break out, by all kinds of underhand means and nefarious intrigues. His conversion, if I may use the word in speaking of his feelings, was one of those curious incidents of which the last few years have seen so many, but I believe it was sincere, and certainly he contrived to render valuable services to the cause of the Allies in keeping them informed as to the march of events and among them those which resulted in the triumph of the Bolsheviki in Russia.

It would be difficult to say when the great disillusion of Captain Rustenberg began. It seems to me, however, that the first forewarnings date from the early spring of 1914 when he was ordered to leave Zurich, where he had spent the whole of the past three or four years, with the exception of short trips to France and Italy, and go to Berlin. Captain Rustenberg was much surprised by these orders for he could not imagine the reason for calling him to Headquarters when it was known there that he was engaged in the delicate task of watching certain German anarchists who had transferred their activities to

Switzerland. His astonishment was even greater when he was told that he would not return to Zurich but would be transferred to some unknown destination. He had no alternative but to obey, so he relinquished the comfortable flat where he spent two peaceful years, packed his things and ten days later arrived in Berlin. He immediately reported himself to Headquarters, that is at the Foreign Office where the special Intelligence Department which was supposed to control the spying activity of German secret service agents all over the world was lodged.

A surprise awaited him, for he was told that changes had taken place in the organization of the department since he had last visited it. For one thing it had been put under the immediate authority of the General Staff and its control had passed from civilian into military hands. This alone would have been an ominous symptom of the general political situation to a man of his experience in the manner in which the Prussian Intelligence System was managed, but there were other indications which tended to arouse his worst apprehensions as to what awaited the world, including Germany, in the near future. Most of the ablest German secret service agents generally quartered abroad had been called to Berlin for a conference

with their chiefs — an unprecedented thing in Captain Rustenberg's experience. Then again, he was told that new names had been chosen for each one of these agents, and that they had been informed that in the future they must conform themselves to secret orders which were delivered to them in sealed envelopes to be opened only upon the receipt of telegraphic orders to do so.

The headquarters of the department had been transferred from the Foreign Office to a small back street in an innocent appearing location, incapable of arousing the suspicions of any one. Another department of this same secret service was located in the Colonial Office in the Wilhelmstrasse and altogether extraordinary precautions seemed suddenly to have been taken to obliterate all traces of its former activity. The rooms which had been sacred to it in the Foreign Office were still occupied, but only by a few men who seemed to have nothing to do except to receive foreign diplomats when they happened to call, read novels or smoke cigars. In fact it seemed as if they had been selected for the sole purpose of trying to pose as if they were working while in reality they were simply idling their time. Altogether things were so strange that Captain Rustenberg began to wonder what they could mean

and what events Germany was preparing to meet. That the expected events were grave and important could not be doubted; it remained to find out their nature.

When Captain Rustenberg appeared at the Foreign Office and discovered that his superiors were no longer to be found in the apartments where he had been accustomed to seek them, he was received by a clerk who was sitting at a desk hitherto sacred to the august being who was known to his subordinates only as the " Professor " and who was the great chief who held in his hands all the complicated threads of the vast machine called the German Intelligence Service. The clerk told the captain to repair that same evening between eleven and twelve o'clock to the new location of the offices and gave him a password which would enable him to secure an entrance to the back room where he would find his immediate superiors. More than this the clerk could not tell, and Captain Rustenberg came to the conclusion that he had nothing to tell and was merely used as a messenger boy or telephone to transmit orders the importance and sense of which were not revealed to him. So the captain returned to his hotel brooding over these unexpected developments of the situation, and, as he related to me

later, for the first time in his life he felt impatient for evening to come so that he could get an explanation of the many things which were puzzling him. So at the appointed time he eagerly directed his steps towards the little back street where he hoped to find the solution of the mysteries which were beginning to worry him to an uncommon degree. He already felt the fear that they portended the breaking out of a great European crisis which would involve the world.

CHAPTER II

THE OFFICES OF THE SECRET SERVICE IN BERLIN

The new offices of the Prussian Intelligence Department were not easily found, and as Captain Rustenberg wandered about the streets in search of them, he tried to understand the reasons for their removal from their former comfortable quarters in the Wilhelmstrasse to the lonely suburb, for it was nothing else. At last and not without some trouble he discovered the location which had been described to him and made his way into the building. He was stopped at the door by a man wearing the blue overalls which printers use who asked him what he wanted, remarking at the same time that his principals could not accept new work as their hands were already full. The captain replied that he was not a customer, but that he had called to see the "Professor" on a business matter. The man looked at him with a suspicious air and called out to another man who had obviously been listening in the background and who now came forward with

the remark that " there was no Professor " there and that evidently there was a mistake. But Captain Rustenberg would not be baffled and so he mentioned the password which had been given him at the Wilhelmstrasse, upon which the man's countenance brightened visibly, and he smiled, with the remark that " one must be careful sometimes." The visitor was then led into another apartment where he found three men seated around a table covered with maps and papers. Two of the men were strangers, but the third was the " Professor," the dreaded chief whose real identity had never been revealed to his subordinates.

The Professor nodded to the captain and motioned him to a chair opposite and continued attentively reading a long letter spread out on the table before him. His blue eyes which were generally hidden behind spectacles were for once deprived of this ornament and glistened with a fire the captain had never before observed in them. Now and then he stroked his long beard with a gesture which, mechanical as it seemed to be, told to those who knew him well that he was laboring under an intense and strong emotion. At last he folded the papers he had been perusing, and, turning to his visitor, simply said:

"Captain, let me present you to Colonel X. and Major B. Henceforth you will have to report to them."

Captain Rustenberg bowed but said nothing. Indeed there was nothing to say, so he merely looked carefully at the two men under whose authority he had been told he had been placed. Their names were not unknown to him and he was aware that they were considered the most brilliant officers on the General Staff. But he could not understand how it could have happened that they had suddenly been enrolled in the service of the Secret Intelligence Department and how they found themselves in this den — it could hardly be called anything else — dressed in civilian clothes with no insignia of their military rank. Until this time the captain had never heard that officers in active service could be called to other functions, but he was to be even more surprised before the interview came to an end. The colonel was the first to speak, and he did so with an authority which the circumstances did not seem to warrant and which added to the captain's astonishment.

"You have arrived from Switzerland to-day," the colonel began. "Will you kindly tell us what at the present moment is the disposition of the

Russian refugees and anarchists toward their government?"

"I haven't worked especially among the Russian anarchists," Captain Rustenberg answered, "but so far as I know it seems to me that at the present moment they are planning another great strike on the scale of the one which failed in 1905. But it is difficult to tell whether they mean to try it in the near future or not. There is one thing, however, which I have had the opportunity to observe, and that is that their intercourse with the leaders of the labor movement in St. Petersburg and Moscow has become much more active during the last six months than it has been at any time since the murder of Prime Minister Stolypin."

The colonel made note of this remark in a book which he pulled from his pocket and then asked what the captain thought about the likelihood of this strike being carried out with success.

"It is impossible to answer that question," was the reply, "at least for me, as I have already told you that I haven't followed the movements of the Russian anarchists lately. One thing has struck me, however, and that is that they seem to-day to have larger funds at their disposal than has been the case up till now."

The colonel smiled and nodded to the "Professor" who bowed his head in reply and then questioned in his turn:

"Have you any idea where these funds come from?"

"Not the slightest, unless they come from you, which would not surprise me."

It was the colonel's turn to raise his eyes.

"He is not stupid, your man," he remarked drily to the Chief.

"Have you any idea," continued the colonel, "of the individual who calls himself Ioulianoff and who is known in anarchist circles by the name of Lenine?"

"Yes, I know him well," answered the captain. "What of him?"

"You know him well?" interrupted the other officer who up to that moment had been silent. "Can you tell us what sort of a person he is?"

"A man who can be bought as easily as he is difficult to lay hands on," was the unexpected answer.

"Is he a convinced anarchist?" asked the colonel.

"Do convinced anarchists exist in general?" answered the captain. "He certainly is a partisan of the doctrine embodied in the French words

Otes toi de là, que je m'y mettes! Beyond that I will take no responsibility in describing him. Among his comrades he is considered a fanatic, though I doubt whether his fanaticism would ever lead him into risking his skin in any enterprise dangerous enough to jeopardize it."

"Do you think he would be amenable to reason?" asked the "Professor." "I have reports here which say that he is not one of those individuals whom money cannot convince."

"Probably your reports are exact, 'Professor,' but I can only repeat, I have had no business dealings with the man personally, and all that I know about him in this respect is from the reports which our agents have made to me from time to time. I could, however, easily ascertain the truth of the matter if I returned to Zurich."

"That is not necessary," said the colonel. "We only wanted to hear your personal opinion on the subject. You are wanted in quite another place than Switzerland for the moment." He remained silent for a few minutes and then went on:

"You have already been in Russia, and I have been told that you speak Russian well. Is that the case?"

"Yes," was the reply.

"Then, 'Professor,' will you kindly explain to Captain Rustenberg what we require him to do?"

The "Professor" took a paper from his inner pocket, glanced at it and silently put it into the captain's hands.

"You see the list of names, Captain," he said. "Your mission will be to try and ascertain the opinion of these people in regard to the opportunity for a Revolutionary movement in Russia during the coming summer. As you will note some of them are in Paris at the moment. To Paris, therefore, you will have to go, but you must not stay there more than a few days during which it will be easy for you to come in contact with these men. To give you an outline of what we require, I shall tell you that our agents report to us that in France just now there is a strong party which is opposed to the visit of President Poincaré to St. Petersburg. This party fears that this visit would mean the discussion of a war against Germany to which it objects but which is strongly desired by Grand Duke Nicholas and by the military party in Russia as well as in France. Now such a war would, of course, paralyze for a time the activities of the socialists and especially of the anarchists. They think, therefore, that it would be a good thing to hurry

on in Russia an insurrectional movement embodied in strikes and labor troubles which would give the government so much to do that it would have no time to think of a foreign war. We want to know whether this information is correct and whether it is to be relied upon. It is for this reason that the colonel asked you whether you speak Russian. Your mission will take you among Russians and you must be able to discuss with them in their native tongue. I may as well tell you that you will travel under a Polish name and that you will represent yourself as a Pole sent by the Central Committee in St. Petersburg to discuss conditions with its exiled comrades. Lenine, you may as well know it now, will also be in Paris, and you must meet him as an emissary of his friends in St. Petersburg."

"Will he not discover that I am not?" inquired the captain. "These people always have some secret signs through which they know each other."

The "Professor" smiled, a gentle smile of reproof.

"Surely, my dear Captain, you do not think that we would send you on such an errand without providing you with the necessary means of proving your identity.

"Lenine will meet you in Paris," he went on,

this time in a decided tone; " he will also be there under an assumed name, and you will discuss seriously with him the conditions under which he would accept work in the direction we want, that is against the conclusion of the new treaty of alliance, which, according to the information that has reached us, the French President is about to ask Russia to conclude with France. One of its conditions is to allow French officers to be initiated into the details of the armament of the Russian army and to become acquainted with the strategic plans of the Russian Staff. Such a treaty must never be allowed to become an accomplished fact. I hope you understand me."

Captain Rustenberg bowed in silence.

" We may as well tell you that the reason why you find us here and not in our former quarters is that we have discovered that France had them watched with particular vigilance, and in the present crisis no one must be able to see what we are doing, or be able to identify later on the agents whom we find we are obliged to summon from abroad to our aid. That is also the reason why Colonel X. and Major B. have consented to lend me the benefit of their experience and their skill. And I can only repeat what I told you at the beginning of this interview, it is to them you

will have to report on your return from Paris, for it is needless to say that you must not attempt to write to us from there."

"But in the name of goodness what does all this mean?" exclaimed the captain. "You surely do not think that we are on the verge of a European war?"

"Who speaks of war?" interrupted the major. "We have not mentioned the word war, but others think about it and we must be prepared for every eventuality. Do not get excited, my dear Captain!"

"I am not excited," the captain answered, and then turning to the "Professor":

"Tell me the truth. I shall work for you far better if I know for what stakes you are playing. Has the hour struck for which we have been preparing ourselves all these years?"

"No," replied the Chief, "but it may strike before we are many months older."

"I understand. Give me your instructions; I shall try to carry them out as well as I can."

CHAPTER III

YOU MUST GO TO RUSSIA

There was nothing for Captain Rustenberg to do but obey orders, and so after another confidential conversation with the "Professor," he started for Paris. He had been given letters for one of the German agents there who was working in one of the largest book stores in the French capital. This employee was accustomed to advise one of the lights of the Prussian Secret Service, Herr Steinwachs, in the numerous book purchases the latter was fond of making in Paris where he went two or three times a year. This agent held in his hands all the threads of the German Intelligence Department in France. He was supposed to be an Alsatian and a rabid French patriot. This attitude had allowed him to render the Wilhelmstrasse inestimable services, and he was held in high esteem by the "Professor," as well as by the other chiefs of his department.

Captain Rustenberg went to Paris as a Pole,

ostensibly belonging to the anarchist party, and he had been given a letter for the man called Ioulianoff, already known among extreme socialist circles as Lenine. The captain knew this man, as I have said, for he had had several opportunities of meeting him in Zurich as well as in Geneva. But the captain had never been told that Lenine had been in Germany's employ and pay for years and that as far back as 1905 he had received subsidies from the German Foreign Office, which he had always accepted as being funds from socialist sympathizers in Germany, pretending to be ignorant of their real origin. Lenine enjoyed a certain reputation among Russian anarchist circles abroad where some people considered him a sincere fanatic, while others believed him to be, before anything else, an ambitious man who desired to sweep away the existing order of society for the sole purpose of benefiting himself. Nobody suspected that he would ever become an important factor in Russian politics except the German Intelligence Department which in this instance as well as in many others gave proof of its unusual acumen and foresight.

Captain Rustenberg reached Paris, and, after securing a room in a small hotel on the left bank of the Seine, went to seek the different friends

he had been told to find. Lenine had not yet arrived in Paris, but was expected hourly, so at least the captain was told, but several Russian anarchists were there, and it was quite evident that they were preparing some important movement in the labor circles in Russia. He failed, however, to note that this movement was directed against the visit of the French President to the Czar as he had been assured by his chiefs was the case. The captain could not help wondering whether his superiors were not being duped by the clever men who, he felt sure of it now, had all along been in their employ. He was told that a social revolution, which would most certainly overthrow the Romanoffs, was but a question of months. The slightest outside occurrence might precipitate the coming of this revolution, such, for instance, as a foreign war which all the Russian political exiles seemed certain was bound to come within a short time.

Lenine, or Ioulianoff, arrived in Paris three days after the captain. The latter at once sent to him, through the bookseller's assistant of the Quai Voltaire who seemed far more in the confidence of his chiefs than the captain was himself, the letter with which he had been provided for Lenine. The anarchist immediately came to the captain at

his hotel. After half an hour's conversation Captain Rustenberg came to the conclusion that the man was an enigma and that the solution would not be easy to find. Lenine evidently wanted and expected something, but what that something was the captain failed to guess. He talked a lot about the prospects of the labor party in Russia, but when the impending visit of President Poincaré to St. Petersburg was mentioned and the danger it might present to the cause of socialism in general, he interrupted his interlocutor with the remark that such things did not concern the socialists. Besides, the latter could only win through the complications of a European war, should it ever take place, because such a war through the discontent which it would be sure to raise could only reinforce the stubbornness of the socialist elements in every country, and that in Russia in particular it would most certainly accelerate the triumph of anarchism which, as it appeared, was the only thing he cared about. When he was asked whether he was sufficiently supplied with funds for the campaign which he told the captain to tell " our comrades " he was about to begin, he replied, to the latter's surprise, that though this was not the case at the moment, he fully expected the sinews of the war he meant

to start to be put at his disposal as soon as he thought the moment opportune for doing so. The captain did not feel justified in asking who was to furnish him with this money he so confidently expected, as he had already guessed where it was to come from, and he could not help feeling slightly aggrieved at the want of confidence which his superiors had shown in not initiating him into all the details of the intrigues in which he found them engaged.

Before they parted, Lenine gave Captain Rustenberg a letter addressed to Herr Steinwachs, not under that name however, but under a Russian alias. Lenine finally took his leave after having once more told his host that the only message he could ask him to carry to his friends in Russia was to the effect that things were going on well and that in view of his ignorance of the ins and outs of their situation, he could only leave them free to do what they considered best for the interests of the party. And then he added the following remark, the full sense of which the captain only understood later:

"If you go to St. Petersburg, try to meet Alexander Feodorovitch Kerensky. He is the man of the future and the one on whom I rely the most for helping us to establish the government

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Alexander Feodorovitch Kerensky

which we mean one day to introduce into Russia as well as into the rest of Europe."

All this gave Captain Rustenberg a good deal to think about, and his thoughts were certainly not comfortable as his train carried him back to Berlin. His trip had been well performed and he did not think that during his short stay in Paris any one had suspected that he was an agent of the German government sent to interview Russian anarchists in the French capital. He had conducted himself with extreme discretion and during his interviews with the French anarchists, he had succeeded in convincing them that he was a Pole, a member of their party, who wanted to instruct himself in their aims and desires and the attitude which they would eventually take in the improbable case of a European war. On this last point the captain had a great surprise. He had always supposed that French anarchists were, like their comrades in other countries, devoid of all that is called patriotism. But he discovered that this was not the case by any means. With all of them it was France first and anarchism afterwards; they were just as eager to recover Alsace-Lorraine and to start a war of *Revanche* as any other Frenchmen. The captain knew this would not please his chiefs at all and might even

interfere with some of their plans, but the fact was far too important to keep hidden from them.

Captain Rustenberg was back in Berlin exactly one week after he had left it and immediately presented himself to Colonel X. The latter received him in the same room in which they had met before and listened in silence to the report which his agent made. Then the colonel took Lenine's letter and, notwithstanding the fact that it was addressed to Herr Steinwachs, opened it and read it with great attention. Afterwards he rang a bell and told the soldier who appeared in reply to telephone Major B. that he was expected at once. Captain Rustenberg was then ordered to sit down and wait, which he did in absolute silence wondering where all this was to lead.

Major B. appeared in an incredibly short time. The colonel gave him the letter and they both read it together with extreme attention. Then the colonel spoke to the captain for the first time since he had made his appearance:

"I am quite pleased with you, Captain. You have done well. Now you must prepare yourself for the new work which we want you to do. First of all you must go to-morrow to see Herr Director Steinwachs who is to furnish you with the money you will require and also ask for orders from the

' Professor ' in regard to the journey you are about to take. On the day which will be fixed, you will start for St. Petersburg, traveling via Sweden where we have agents with whom it will be necessary for you to come in contact. In St. Petersburg you will seek certain people whose names will be given you later on and confer with them as to the best way to meet President Poincaré when he arrives in Russia. You will be given a letter of credit sufficiently large to enable you to finance any movement among the workmen of St. Petersburg which it may be found advisable to foment. In St. Petersburg you will find instructions awaiting you at our Embassy, and in Stockholm you will also find some at our Legation. Remember that you are a Pole sent to Russia by the Central Russian Anarchist Committee of Geneva, and that you are to try and get in touch with the Polish agitators who abound in St. Petersburg. While you are in Sweden, where I personally advise you to stay a few days, you will look after the agents whom we have there and with whom I am not entirely satisfied. Stockholm is bound to become, within a short time, an important center of news for us, and it is just as well to organize there a service capable of meeting any emergency, no matter how sudden and

unexpected. You will travel to Stockholm with one of our most trusted men, Mr. Barker, a German-American, whose activities have already been very useful to us. You will take good care to distribute here and there in Swedish factories orders for machines and other things the execution of which will necessitate frequent journeys to Sweden either of yourself or some one else belonging to our service. In St. Petersburg you will be given a list of different people whom it will be advisable for you to try and meet, among others several newspaper editors, such as the owner of the *Gazette de la Bourse,* who, we believe, might at a given moment be of great use to us in conducting a pro-German campaign in the press. You will also do the best you can to have talks with several leaders of the Socialist Party in the Duma. Among others there is a young lawyer called Kerensky with whom I would like you to do your best to become acquainted. He is said to be a very talented fellow and one capable of obtaining a considerable influence on the working classes in the Russian capital. Why do you start?"

Captain Rustenberg had made a gesture of surprise at hearing the name which Lenine had already mentioned, and this gesture had not escaped the keen eyes of the colonel.

"I started," the captain replied, "because this same Kerensky was recommended to me in Paris by Lenine."

It was the colonel's turn to be astonished, and he proceeded to ask his visitor what the famous demagogue whom he had been sent to interview had told him about this Kerensky. The captain could only repeat the words which Lenine had used, that he was "the man of the future," and this seemed to tickle the colonel's fancy to an unusual degree. He laughed one of those silent laughs which mean so much and then proceeded to give the captain further instructions. He dismissed him with the remark that he must be prepared to start for Russia at an hour's notice if need be, and that in the meantime he would do well to go immediately and see both the "Professor" and Herr Director Steinwachs from whom he was to get his final orders. This the captain hastened to do, for experience had taught him that in the career he had chosen a strict obedience to orders was what one was expected and required to do before anything else.

CHAPTER IV

MR. BARKER AND HERR STEINWACHS

Before proceeding with this narrative, the reader must be made acquainted with two men who were to play a most important part in the intrigue about to be disclosed, and who undoubtedly were considered by the German General Staff as well as by the Foreign Office as two of their most capable agents. Herr Steinwachs was a fat, round little fellow with a jovial look about him, which was of considerable help to him in dissimulating his real functions and identity. Whether Steinwachs was his real name or not is a fact which has never been ascertained. Captain Rustenberg's private conviction was that it was an *alias*, for no one in the employ of the German Intelligence Department ever went in private life by the name under which he was employed. On the contrary its spying system had for one of its first rules the giving of names of convention to its employees which permitted them to avoid recognition and to disarm suspicion as

they went along. Herr Steinwachs had an office in a room on the third floor of the Colonial Office in the Wilhelmstrasse in Berlin where he could generally be found between two and four o'clock in the afternoon, when he was in town. Where his home was no one knew, and neither his name nor address could be found in the directory of the German capital. He represented himself as a bachelor living with his widowed mother and affected the attitude of a book lover and student. This, however, did not prevent his taking special pleasure in gay society where the female element seemed to possess great attraction for him. Two or three times a year he went to Paris, for which he was supposed to have a particular affection, and where he declared that he found opportunities no other place offered him for adding to his collection of rare volumes. He spoke French remarkably well, with just a shade of Teutonic accent, but when outside Paris he always professed a total ignorance of the language, which sometimes proved of considerable use to him. The German General Staff had entrusted him with important confidential missions which he had always performed to its entire satisfaction. He never came to grief but once. He was on an aeroplane trip in France; his machine

was damaged and he had to come down near Mantes where he was taken by the population for what he really was, a German spy. He had some trouble in establishing his identity as a peaceful German traveler and went through a bad quarter of an hour. At that time, however, war with Germany, or with anybody else for that matter, was far from people's minds, and Herr Steinwachs escaped with a bad fright from what might have proved an unpleasant adventure.

His last journey to Paris took place just before the Great War, and it was suspected that he was sent to verify the accuracy of the information Captain Rustenberg had brought back from his trip. After hostilities had started, Steinwachs was put at the head of the Russian division of the Prussian Intelligence Department where he made himself most useful. He was one of the first to start the idea of getting in touch with a portion of the Russian press, and he displayed considerable ability in the way in which he handled this work. He had a special skill in finding out what people could be trusted and in the autumn of 1915 he scented danger in parties who had been recommended to his superiors in Berlin as likely to prove of use in this campaign to buy up the Russian press or as much of it as could be bought.

In reality these men were agents of the French government who wanted to get as much evidence as they could concerning the bribing activities of Germany in the Russian Empire. Herr Steinwachs went to Stockholm where these agents resided so as to get in direct touch with them, but he took the precaution to travel with his mother so as to give his journey the appearance of a pleasure trip. He first tried to ascertain what these men had to offer him. His instinct told him at once that they were pretending friendly feelings towards Germany in order to get him and his administration to compromise themselves, and he managed to back out of the snare which had been laid for him with nothing but the loss of a small sum of money, which his government could stand, and with the consciousness that he had been clever enough to scent an intrigue which, had it turned out successful, might have got his government into difficulties which it would have been hard to explain to the man on the street.

Herr Steinwachs established a Bureau of Espionage in Stockholm to which all the numerous agents placed under his orders in the Scandinavian countries had to report. Such a bureau could not have existed in Christiania or Copenhagen as they were far too small and their inhab-

itants far too pro-Ally, for it not to have been discovered immediately. But the Germans had many sympathizers in Stockholm, and the activities of the secret agents could easily be hidden from the eyes of the public. Herr Steinwachs hired a small flat in an out of the way street, which became his headquarters, and started a propaganda all over the Scandinavian peninsula through the help of several journalists and lecturers, sent especially from Berlin for the purpose. They were instructed to explain to the Swedes and Danes as well as the Norwegians the great advantages of German Kultur. In addition to this official bureau, because though it was unknown it was official in some ways, he arranged for representatives of different large business firms in Germany to open agencies in Sweden where, in case of difficulty, his spies could drop in and send their reports to Berlin at times when there was any reason to suspect that the Allied counter-police had its eyes on the movements of the many German agents. Later on as the war progressed, and when it became necessary to watch events in Russia with more attention than at the beginning, Herr Steinwachs sent over to Sweden an official representative in the person of Baron von Oppel. The Baron was an important personage in the

German Intelligence Department, and he installed himself in a sea-side resort called Saltsjobaden, near Stockholm, where he took upon himself the organization and " surveillance " of the multitude of German spies who crowded around him and who came from Russia and Finland to make their reports. The Baron was to play an important part in the conspiracy which brought about the ruin of Russia and its betrayal into the hands of Germany by Lenine, Trotzky and Company.

Mr. Barker was quite a different individual from Herr Director Steinwachs. He said that he was an American with large business interests in Germany and he used to travel about under the protection of an American passport, not only in Russia, where he was a frequent visitor during the first two years of the war, but also in England and France. He was most prepossessing in appearance, affected pleasant manners, and had the appearance of a man about town more in quest of amusement than anything else. Clean shaven and always well dressed, he was intelligent and tactful, observant and extremely cynical in that he never trusted any one, and seldom spoke the truth concerning his feelings or opinions. He crossed to the United States several times during 1915 and 1916, where he was sent to

control in a certain sense the work of Count von Bernstorff whom he carefully avoided all the time he remained in Washington and New York. The Count had his counter-police and heard vaguely that a trusted agent of the Intelligence Department in Berlin had arrived in America. He tried to get in touch with this agent and even went so far as to cause inquiries to be made at the bank where he supposed Mr. Barker would go to cash the checks with which he had been provided before he left Europe. But these inquiries came to nothing, and the baffled Ambassador did not succeed in finding the man he sought with great perseverance and whose presence in the United States, he feared, might bode ill for himself, and at all events proved that the confidence which the Count inspired in his superiors was not unlimited.

Mr. Barker was a chemist by profession, and was supposed to be attracted by anything connected with explosives. He was the head of a textile establishment in the Rhine provinces and was generally immersed in researches concerning dyes and things of that sort. It was rumored, too, that he had patented a new bomb of unusual power and that in one of his trips to America he took a few of these toys with him to show his

friends. Whether this was true or not, it is difficult to say. Mr. Barker was Captain Rustenberg's superior, and the latter was not at liberty to control his activities or to try and find out what aims he was pursuing.

The captain never liked Mr. Barker, and it was with mixed feelings of pleasure that he went to see him. To his surprise, however, for he had always suspected that Barker never approved of his methods or of the way he used to work, his superior received him quite amiably, and at once plunged into the subject which had brought them together, and told the captain exactly what he had to do. The captain discovered that far from fearing a war, as he had for a brief moment thought was the case during his conversation with Colonel X., the German government was secretly hoping one would be declared against it thus saving it the trouble of declaring war itself. Mr. Barker seemed wonderfully well informed as to Russian affairs and said point blank that if the Russian labor party could be persuaded to arise against the government in case of a declaration of hostilities, either on Germany's part or on that of the Czar, this would allow the former to conclude in a relatively short time a peace which would deliver into German hands the whole Rus-

sian commercial market. After that Germany would no longer fear competition either from England or from the United States against which Barker seemed to be particularly incensed.

Barker gave Captain Rustenberg a list of names of people in whom he assured him Germany had well wishers and eventual friends. The list comprised Kerensky, together with other deputies of the Duma, a woman called Madame Soumentay, and a man whose name the captain had never heard before, Adolphe Joffe. Mr. Barker cautioned him to be very careful in regard to the last, as he was staying in St. Petersburg under an assumed name and was eagerly sought by the Russian police. Finally, Barker directed the captain to another man from whom he was to receive any funds he might want during his stay in Russia, and advised him, while not appearing to encourage the leaders of the Russian labor party in a rebellion against the government, to try and impress them with the conviction that the government was too rotten not to be overthrown at the first opportunity.

Herr Director Steinwachs was not quite so explicit as Mr. Barker, but he told Captain Rustenberg one thing which the former had carefully re-

frained from mentioning — that Germany was on the eve of a war which might easily become a general one and that, consequently, the captain must be very careful in everything he said and did. To the question of whether he thought that the impending visit of President Poincaré to Petersburg was likely to bring the war about, Herr Steinwachs simply shrugged his fat and comfortable shoulders and remarked that President or no President the course of events could not be arrested or even checked. He finally dismissed his visitor with the remark that the latter must leave Berlin the next day, and that he would find Mr. Barker awaiting him at the station at eight o'clock in the evening. They were to travel together as far as Stockholm, and then Captain Rustenberg was to make his way alone to Russia through Helsingfors and Finland. His stay in St. Petersburg was to extend until the departure of the French President, unless he received orders to the contrary. The captain bowed and was about to take his departure when suddenly Herr Steinwachs stopped him:

"By the way, I had nearly forgotten. If a certain Colonel Massojedoff calls upon you, please be polite to him and ask him to dinner at some

good restaurant or other. But do not take any letter from him, and simply advise him to come to Berlin and see his friends. He is a good fellow, and you might as well be nice to him."

CHAPTER V

WE MUST ARRANGE A GREETING FOR PRESIDENT POINCARÉ

As he had been told, Captain Rustenberg found Mr. Barker waiting for him at the station, and they crossed together to Sweden and made their way to Stockholm. The Swedish capital was a sleepy little place at that time, and people seemed to think only of their own petty interests. The hotels were, if not empty, at least only moderately filled with tourists, and the town had an essentially provincial appearance. Mr. Barker did not elect to stay at the same hotel at which the captain had been ordered to stop and took up his abode at another one, which, if not quite so fashionable as the Grand, was probably more acceptable to him for other reasons. Barker bade good-by to his traveling companion in the train and advised him that in case they should meet on the street they were not to speak or to appear as though they knew each other. To tell the truth Captain Rustenberg was not sorry to hear

this as he had no sympathy with Barker, perhaps out of *jalousie du métier,* as most people would have said, but more likely because he could not quite accept his utter unscrupulousness in working and his complete disregard of the elements of morality which even spies must sometimes have. The captain little suspected that the day would come when even Mr. Barker would appear to him as one of the most honest of men when compared with others with whom he was compelled to work later on.

Captain Rustenberg went to Helsingfors in Finland where he had been ordered to look up certain Finnish agitators with whom the German Intelligence Department was in communication. He found them much excited against Russia and just as much against Sweden. None of them was in the least sympathetic with Germany and German Kultur, and when the captain tried to discuss with them their eventual attitude in the, as he put it, improbable case of war breaking out between Russia and Germany they told him frankly that they would support Russia so long as they had no hopes of winning back their independence, but that the moment they saw the least likelihood of doing this, they would organize a systematic revolt against their present masters. When they were

asked whether they would seek help from Germany in their attempt to shake off the Russian yoke, they replied categorically that they would never dream of doing such a thing, because it would be jumping from the frying pan into the fire.

On the other hand the anarchist elements in Finland, of whom there were more than the captain had been led to think, were absolutely pro-German and seemed to him at least to be in complete accord with several German socialist groups. They considered Scheidemann a kind of prophet, and they made no secret of the fact that at different times they had accepted financial subsidies from their German comrades, especially during the troubled years which had followed the Russo-Japanese war.

After several days spent in their society, the captain considered that the Finns were an absolutely unreliable people ready to conclude an alliance with any person who flattered them and just as ready to break afterwards. In case of a war they would undoubtedly cause trouble, even if they ostensibly declared themselves on the German side.

From Helsingfors it was but a twenty-four hours' journey to St. Petersburg, and the captain

made the trip most comfortably in an almost empty train where he had a large compartment to himself in the sleeping carriage. The Russian capital had quite a summer aspect, though here and there bunting was to be seen in honor of the French President who was expected in two or three weeks. It was then the beginning of June, and the town was more or less empty of its fashionable elements, though most of the people holding official positions were still there. The captain, of course, went immediately to the German Embassy, and was received by Count von Pourtales with great courtesy and with evident curiosity. The Count gave him letters which a courier had brought, together with official dispatches, and he went to great trouble to assure the captain that he was entirely satisfied with the political situation and the relations between the German and Russian governments. Pourtales was too much a man of the world to ask his visitor what had really brought him to Russia and he seemed to accept the story, which in accordance with his instructions the captain told him, that his only wish was to see old friends who had invited him to visit them. Before the captain took leave, Count von Pourtales invited him to lunch for the next day, which he declined, pleading a previous

engagement, as Herr Director Steinwachs had enjoined his agent to show himself at the Embassy as little as possible. After this first visit of courtesy the captain considered himself free to follow his own course and he went to seek the persons to whom he had introductions presenting himself as a Pole sent to Russia by the anarchist circles of Switzerland to report to them the actual position of the different labor groups in the Empire of the Czar.

Of course the ostensible pretext for his appearance in Russia was the desire to discuss the possibility of another general strike like the one which had failed in 1905. There had been partial attempts at organizing one during the winter which had just ended and there had been troubles, of a transient nature however, in different factories in St. Petersburg. Experiments had been made with new gases which, let loose in the working rooms, had caused the wholesale poisoning of the employees. Although the matter had occupied the authorities, it had been hushed up by the government which did not care to investigate it for fear of adding fuel to the flames. That these extraordinary poisonings had been brought about intentionally no one doubted, and it was said among the workmen that the names of the persons

who perpetrated them were well known. The intent was evident: they wanted to excite the workmen against the factory owners or the government, in the case of government controlled factories like the great Poutiloff factory which employed more than twenty thousand men.

To Captain Rustenberg's surprise he discovered that most of the mechanics, foremen, engineers and inspectors in the principal working centers of the capital were Germans either from the Baltic provinces or from Prussia itself. They appeared to get on well with the men under them with whom they seemed to sympathize far more than did the Russian officers who had the last word in the administration of the factories where war materials were manufactured. The captain asked the German workers with whom he had an opportunity to talk their opinion of the workmen they controlled. They all told him that the men had learned a useful lesson in 1905 and that there was no fear of their venturing another outbreak until they were certain of emerging triumphant. But they did not conceal their opinion that any slight circumstance might bring this outbreak and that when it did occur it would be far more bloody than the previous revolution had been.

Another general strike was in everybody's mind and, so far as the captain could discover, one of the reasons it was wished for was the great industrial prosperity which undoubtedly had followed the reverses of the Japanese war, a prosperity which had not touched the workmen, but which had enriched the street speculators who had made ducks and drakes of the different industrial enterprises which had sprung up like mushrooms. It was known that, thanks to French influence and the urgent representations of the French government, Russia had proceeded or rather was proceeding to a considerable addition to its armaments. The fear of war was in the public mind, the more so since it had become known, no one knew how, that it had been decided not to give any further orders to German firms, but to allow the Creusot and Poutiloff factories to fulfill the new artillery program which had been decided upon in high circles.

The workmen had heard all this through some mysterious channels and they were opposed to this display of ardor in the way of armaments. The average workman was fairly comfortable at the time; he was earning good wages, and had lately discovered that many restrictions to which he had formerly been obliged to submit were being

slowly withdrawn, and that he was gradually being allowed the liberty of holding meetings and of having papers of his own to defend the interests of the labor party in general. The workman knew that this party, his party, was slowly organizing and he realized perfectly that this would no longer be possible in case of war as the government would undoubtedly proceed to withdraw all the concessions it had made during the past two or three years to the workingmen in general and their representatives in the Duma in particular. The idea of war was, therefore, an unpleasant one to most of the men who gave a thought to it. It was also far from popular in the army itself, still smarting as it was under the remembrance of the disasters it had experienced in Manchuria, for it knew that it had not recovered from them sufficiently to enter another struggle with any chance of success.

Captain Rustenberg soon discovered that the instructions which he had been given to try and stimulate the discontent of the Russian labor party were very clever and that this would be a relatively easy thing to do. The men to whom he had brought letters of introduction welcomed him warmly and inquired eagerly for their " comrades " in Switzerland with whom it appeared

they were in close and constant communication. Lenine, as they all called Ioulianoff, was a kind of prophet in their eyes, and they all said that the day would come when the program which he had drawn up would become an accomplished fact, when the proletariat would at last come forward and obtain the place in the world to which it was entitled. At the same time none of these men seemed to have any idea, no matter how hazy, as to what was to follow the triumph of this proletariat they represented. They had absolutely no comprehension of what the words "governing a country" meant, and the thought which seemed uppermost in their minds was that of destroying what they certainly would never know how to rebuild.

The French alliance was not popular among the workmen, and it was with visible wrath that they spoke of the impending visit of the French President, which many among them considered a direct challenge to a war. Captain Rustenberg failed to discover why this idea had gained their minds, though he had strong suspicions that German propaganda and the money which the German government was constantly distributing among Russian socialists and anarchists had something to do with it. Other French presidents had

visited Russia before M. Poincaré and had been warmly welcomed, especially M. Faure who was the object of a most enthusiastic reception by the population of St. Petersburg. No one had ever intimated that his visit meant war with any of Russia's neighbors. There was no reason why M. Poincaré's visit should be considered in another light from those of his predecessors in office. The captain could not help thinking that there was something more than was known at the bottom of the great hostility with which the labor party in the capital affected to regard the President. That this hostility existed he had more than one opportunity to notice, especially on one occasion when he was discussing with the editor of one of the labor organs of St. Petersburg the probable attitude of the numerous workingmen employed in the different great industrial concerns in case the much discussed visit should take place. The editor ended with the following remarkable words:

"If the French President really comes here, then we shall arrange a greeting for him such as he and others do not expect."

CHAPTER VI

ALEXANDER FEODOROVITCH KERENSKY

Captain Rustenberg had been in St. Petersburg for three weeks, and though he had succeeded in gathering considerable interesting information concerning the spirit prevailing among the socialist and anarchist circles of the capital, he had been unable to meet one of the men with whom he had been especially recommended to get acquainted — the young lawyer known to his friends by the name of Kerensky. The captain was told that Kerensky was shy of strangers, probably because of his ignorance of any other language than Russian. He had been advised that the stranger understood and spoke Russian as well as any Pole could do, yet he had contrived to elude him in some way or other. The captain was given to understand that Kerensky was a very suspicious individual and that, connected as he was with an anti-governmental movement and being one of the leaders of the extreme radical factions in the Duma in addition, he was always anxious not to

be drawn into utterances which might possibly compromise him. Kerensky had been recently defending people accused of anarchist propaganda, and though he had been unable to save them from sentences of several years' banishment in Siberia, he had said enough to cause serious embarrassment to their judges who might, perhaps, have shown themselves more lenient than was the case if strong pressure had not been brought to bear and obliged them to be severe. But this defence, which was said to have been one of the most brilliant Kerensky had ever conducted, had once more brought him prominently into the public eye, and it was probable, or so at least it was said, that he would have been arrested in his turn had it not been for his parliamentary immunity as a member of the Duma. All this made Captain Rustenberg, if possible, more anxious than before to meet the young lawyer, but his efforts did not seem likely to be crowned with success until at last he found himself face to face with Kerensky quite by accident.

At this point it may not be out of place to say a few words concerning the man who for unexplained and entirely unjustified reasons was for a brief period a popular idol abroad. I say abroad with intention, because there were few

people in Russia who shared the enthusiasm which he excited among those who did not know him well and who saw in him the leader of the new Russia which was expected to arise at a moment's notice from the ashes of the empire over which the Romanoffs had ruled for so long time. This new Russia, in the opinion of the followers of this *Wremienchik,* to use the old Russian expression which signifies the man of the hour who has no hope of being the one of the next day, was to be a regenerated and better one than that which had gone before, but his adversaries asserted that under his rule it would quickly become worse and at all events a different Russia than the world had known.

Unfortunately Kerensky lacked the principal characteristics of a statesman; he lacked experience and knowledge of the routine of government, and he had but a limited education with no idea whatsoever of the feelings of people born and reared in a different atmosphere from that in which he had grown up himself. He was only a leader of men, or, rather, of the passions of men, and, unfortunately for him and for his country, what Russia required was more of a ruler than a leader — she had more of the latter than she needed, though perhaps none so powerful as Kerensky.

He emerged from the complete and general chaos as Dictator and he added to this chaos all the weight of his unripe genius and his exuberant personality. He preached constantly a creed which it is doubtful if he believed himself. This was the principal reason for his fall, for nations will never follow those who have no confidence in themselves.

I knew Kerensky long before the Revolution, at a time when he was a briefless lawyer save when it came to defending political offenders without means to pay his fees. At that time no one dreamed of crediting him with a knowledge of politics, though everyone admitted his eloquence as a demagogue. He himself never thought that one day he would be entrusted with the responsibility of leading his country either in prosperity or in misfortune, and he never prepared himself for the task. He only put his wits to seeking the best means of destroying the present state of things without considering that the necessity would arise of replacing these conditions by better or more useful or more practical ones.

When Kerensky was elected a member of the Duma he at once assumed a leading part in its deliberations through his eloquence in which he denounced abuses, which, though great, became

even greater after he had had the opportunity of disclosing them to the public. But no one ever imagined there was the stuff for the minister in him, even on the very day of the Revolution. Through the fact that in a certain sense he had obliged the President of the Duma, Rodzianko, to take the leadership of the movement which was to overthrow the Czar and his government, Kerensky had to be included among the members of the new Cabinet. Prince Lvoff, one of his friends, presided, but when he was asked what he thought about Kerensky's membership, he answered that he was very sorry for it, because Kerensky could only wreck a Ministry, no matter to which party it belonged, once he were associated with it.

Others thought so too, and none were better aware of the fact than the leaders of the extreme radical and anarchist groups who had made up their minds from the first to oust from power the moderate democratic elements whom everybody reasonable hoped would assume the task of watching over Russia's destinies and interests. When they pushed Kerensky into the position for which he was so completely unfitted, they did so, not because they wanted him there, but because they knew he would never show himself strong enough to repress their own activities.

In his way Kerensky was a weakling, just as much as the Czar whose place he took and whose apartments he hastened to occupy as soon as he became a member of the new government. What old aristocrats like Prince Lvoff, sincere democrats like Professor Miliukoff and M. Goutschkoff, and extreme socialists like Skobeleff and Tcheidze had refused to do, Kerensky, the " Man of the Hour," did not hesitate to perform.

His arrogance, his thirst for enjoyment of the most trivial kind which savored so much of the parvenu he really was, was perhaps the thing which contributed most to depriving him of the sympathies of those who up to that time had hoped, for they had never believed, that the eloquence of this *beau parleur* might be of some use to his country. But when they saw him play at the Sovereign and forget the vital questions and interests which were agitating Russia in his wild lust for material satisfaction, they turned their backs upon him and gave him up forever.

I remember well, when I arrived in Petrograd after the Revolution, hearing people on all sides making the saddest predictions in regard to Kerensky's future. His greatest supporters had been the workingmen and the laboring classes in general, and they were simply aghast with indigna-

tion when they discovered that instead of working for them as he had promised, he thought only of himself and forgot that he had ever belonged to the proletariat. When the proletariat discovered that he had betrayed its ideals, it hastened to overturn him for fear he might deliver it into the hands of the very people against whom he had advised and encouraged it to rise.

Another of Kerensky's weaknesses was his want of character and resolution. He always attempted the impossible task of trying to please everybody, and of course he failed. He promised too much and performed far too little. He had compromised himself with the anarchist party before he became a Minister, and he was afraid of its claiming his fulfillment of hasty promises made at a time when he never expected to be in a position where he would be called upon to perform them. When Lenine arrived in Petrograd, Kerensky hoped to conciliate him and bring him around to his own points of view. These were eminently pacific, for from the first moment the Revolution became an accomplished fact, Kerensky had had but one thought in his head — the conclusion of a separate peace with Germany. The man's vanity had been hurt by a supposed slight on the part of the French Ambassador, and his nature

was so small that he could not resist the temptation to gain revenge. He imagined that the best means to obtain his end was to ally himself with those who had been clever enough to persuade him that they recognized in his person the genius who was to save Russia and deliver her from her enemies.

Personally I do not think Kerensky took German money, but it is an assured fact that he made money and this to a considerable amount during the months he remained in power. It is equally certain that he contrived to transfer it abroad. Indeed this preoccupation about securing his future seemed to be his principal one during his brief passage as a Dictator. It influenced him in his relations with the Bolshevik group, for, when he was asked to arrest Lenine and Trotzky, he requested his colleagues to wait and in the meantime he contrived to send another million abroad for safe-keeping.

Kerensky realized that Lenine was the real leader of the party with which he had compromised himself and was anxious not to make him his enemy. When Lenine was about to be arrested, Kerensky advised him of the fact and he fled to Finland. He returned to Petrograd when the first scare had subsided and he remained in the

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Leon Trotzky

capital unmolested, though every one knew where he was, simply because Kerensky had forbidden any one to trouble or interfere with him. Later on the Bolshevik chief repaid this service by allowing Kerensky in his turn to stay in hiding near the capital after his overthrow. Here Kerensky remained until they both deemed the time had come for the former Minister, about whom the press abroad had been so enthusiastic, to repair to England and France, and as they hoped to the United States, in order to get in touch with the Bolsheviks in the different countries.

Here is a typical anecdote concerning Kerensky, for the authenticity of which I can vouch, for the incident happened while I was in Petrograd for a few days immediately after the Revolution and the central figure was a personal friend of mine. In bygone days this gentleman had often obliged Kerensky with small loans of money when the latter was in one of the periodical financial crises to which he was subject. One day my friend met the Minister coming out of the Winter Palace, accosted him, and asked him for the return of the money with which he had formerly obliged him and of which he was then himself in great need. Kerensky smiled and said he would be only too happy to pay his debt. Unfortunately, he said,

he had no money with him, and he therefore requested his creditor to wait until the next morning when he made an appointment to meet him. The man went home delighted at the thought of coming once more into his own, and told his wife that he had found Kerensky most charming and affable and that probably the stories going the rounds about his forgetfulness of old friends was nothing but one of the calumnies to which public men are subject. But the same night the police, or rather the militia which had taken its place, invaded the creditor's house and carried him off to the fortress. He was only released months later when Kerensky had disappeared into space.

Anecdotes of this kind were numerous, and many of them were true. Can it be wondered that their hero came to a sad end? Should it occasion surprise that when he fell, no one regretted him, few pitied him, and many rejoiced?

But to return to Captain Rustenberg's unexpected meeting with the future Minister. As I have said, one of Herr Director Steinwachs' recommendations to the captain was to be polite to a certain Colonel Massojedoff, if he should chance to come across him. One morning as the emissary was sitting in his room in the hotel, this gentleman's card was brought up and he himself

appeared a few moments later. The captain found himself in the presence of a relatively young man — he might have been between thirty-five and forty years old — with a pleasant open countenance, and the most suave and charming manners in the world. He wore the dark blue uniform of the Corps of the Gendarmes — the much dreaded uniform in Russia, as its wearers belonged to that terrible secret police called the Third Section which had all the political offenders under its surveillance. Colonel Massojedoff spoke excellent French and told his host, that as he had heard from German friends that he was in St. Petersburg, he had considered it his duty to call on him and ask him whether he would not do him the pleasure of dining with him that same evening at Félicien, a fashionable restaurant on the islands in the outskirts of the capital. As the captain expressed his surprise that the colonel had German friends who had taken the trouble to give him this information, he replied that he was the officer in charge of the frontier station of Wirballen and that he was constantly seeing the German travelers who crossed there as he had to examine their passports. The captain and the colonel soon became friends and while the former wondered what services the latter could have rendered the Ger-

man Intelligence Department, he could not help finding him a most agreeable person, who being very talkative would be sure to prove useful in enlightening him on the various points which he wished to have cleared up before his return to Berlin.

They had an excellent dinner together and soon began to talk about the Russian political situation. The colonel told his guest that though a strong party clamorous for war undoubtedly existed and that it was trying to persuade the Czar to adopt a more aggressive policy against Germany than he had pursued, yet he personally did not think that the Sovereign could be induced to do it. The Czar was well aware that Russia could not fight anybody — Germany least of all.

"And why should we fight her?" the colonel added. "All our interests are almost identical with German interests, and it would be a blessing for Russia if she could conclude an alliance with the Kaiser and thus secure for herself the position of importance she ought to have in Europe, which she more or less lost by the war with Japan. Believe me, we shall never do anything worth doing until we have assimilated the spirit of order and organization which has made Germany so powerful and mighty. If I were allowed to do what I

liked, I would try to organize a vast movement in favor of a German alliance all over the country."

"Do you think this would be a difficult thing to do?" asked Captain Rustenberg.

"Well, it all depends upon what you call difficult," answered the colonel, with a smile. "There are arguments to which the Russian never remains insensible. The fact is that France is spending an enormous amount of money in an ardent propaganda against you, while you do not display half so much energy in the enterprise. You have no idea of the complete disorganization that exists in every sphere of the government in Russia. Our army has no ammunition, no guns, no provisions of any kind. A war to-day would find us totally unprepared, and, if Germany were really our enemy as she is represented to be, she would most certainly make use of her present opportunity to declare war on us. In a year or two, thanks to the insistence of France, we might find ourselves in a far better position than we are now."

"Do you authorize me to repeat this in Berlin?" asked the captain.

"Most certainly. I even entreat you to do so," answered Massojedoff.

This conversation gave the German emissary a

good deal of food for thought, and the next day he made up his mind to call on the colonel under the pretext of inviting him to dinner in return for his hospitality. Colonel Massojedoff received him as soon as he sent up his card, but to his surprise the colonel was not alone. Sitting with him was a young man with a sharp nose and a clean shaven countenance and a foreign look which characterized his whole appearance in spite of very shabby clothes and linen of a doubtful cleanliness. Massojedoff immediately introduced the youth as Alexander Feodorovitch Kerensky.

Captain Rustenberg's delight was unbounded and he made the most of his opportunity by telling the brilliant young advocate that in meeting him he was accomplishing what he had been vainly trying to do ever since he had been in Russia. Kerensky seemed surprised at the words and inquired to what he owed the honor, as he expressed it. Captain Rustenberg answered that he had been in Paris recently where he had met one of his friends whose name, however, he did not feel himself at liberty to disclose in the presence of the colonel. The latter laughed outright and said that there need be no scruples, because when he happened to be among friends he made it a point to forget that he was an officer of gendarmes. This information

would not have been sufficient to make the captain speak had he not known that he could do so for other reasons than Massojedoff mentioned. He burned his bridges boldly behind him and told Kerensky that the person who had recommended that he try to meet him was none other than Ioulianoff.

The demagogue's face at once became serious.

"Yes, I know Ioulianoff well," he said. "He is one of the fanatics of the Social Revolution, but I doubt whether he has a program of what it has to do beyond the destruction of the present order of things. But he is a most capable man, one able to lead the masses, and he is a strength with which we must reckon in our scheme of reforms for the future."

"I do not think that he is practical enough ever to become a leader," ventured the captain.

"That is where you are mistaken!" exclaimed Kerensky. "We do not require practical men in Russia at the present moment. What we want is men capable of rousing the masses to the knowledge of the oppression under which they suffer, and for that purpose I do not think we could find anywhere a better man than Ioulianoff. Unfortunately," he added after a pause, "unfortunately, he is not here."

"Do you think that the moment is ripe to arouse the masses to that knowledge?" asked the captain.

"Well, perhaps it is not," said Kerensky. "But any unexpected incident may bring it about, such, for instance, as a foreign war out of which it is certain that Russia would emerge a different country than it is to-day."

"It is curious how every one I meet speaks of war," remarked the captain. "And yet there is absolutely no mortal reason why war should break out to-day when it did not last year when the Near-Eastern complications were so acute."

"When have you seen war break out at the time it was expected?" inquired the young advocate. "War is in the air, I tell you, and in a certain sense it is required in Russia because without war we will never be able to obtain the liberties to which we are entitled. Look at the course of our history. It is only through foreign wars that we have ever risen out of the slavery in which the Romanoffs have kept us enthralled. The Crimean War gave us the emancipation of the serfs; the war with Japan our phantom of a constitution; another war would give us liberty."

"You forget that those labor classes which you

are supposed to lead are opposed to it," the captain remarked drily.

"Yes, the fools! They do not know where their interests lie. They are a pack of selfish brutes which require a shock of some kind to arouse them from their apathy. Sometimes I wonder whether I shall be able to go on with this struggle for the rights of the masses to take a part in the administration of the affairs of their country. Our government is a rotten one. Look at the difference in Germany, and its wonderful spirit of organization; look at the way its leaders take the initiative in every social reform! If only we had some one capable of doing the same thing here! Ah, if only I were the master!"

"What would you do, if you were the master, my friend?" asked Massojedoff, suavely.

"What would I do?" exclaimed Kerensky, violently. "You would soon see what I would do! I would sweep all these people who live by the sweat of the workingman's brow from the face of the earth, and in order to do this, I would ally myself with the Devil himself, if he could lend me a hand."

"There are other people than the Devil who could help you," remarked the colonel, again in the

same soft voice he had used all through the conversation.

Kerensky started and looked him full in the face. Then he looked at Captain Rustenberg, but the latter had already understood and felt that it was needless to continue the conversation. He had learned what he wanted and he began to understand for what he had been sent to Russia at this particular moment. He was just wondering whether he should go or not, when the telephone rang. Massojedoff went to it and as he hung up the receiver and came back to his guests, his face was white and drawn.

"Yes," he said slowly, "yes, something has happened. The Archduke Francis Ferdinand, the heir to the Austrian throne, has been assassinated, together with his wife, at Sarajevo, by a Serb student."

Kerensky jumped to his feet, and Captain Rustenberg arose also. No one spoke, but all three seemed to feel as though a new chapter in the history of Europe had opened suddenly — that it might lead the world very, very far indeed.

CHAPTER VII

THE GREAT STRIKE IN ST. PETERSBURG

Captain Rustenberg was wondering whether he ought to return to Berlin or not when a message from Count von Pourtales called him to the Embassy. He was given telegrams in code which proved to be orders to remain in Russia until recalled and to try and bring about the strike about which he had heard so much. He was also advised that a considerable credit had been opened for him at the International Bank, the shares of which, as he knew, were almost entirely in the hands of great German banking institutions, such as the Disconto Gesellschaft, Mendelssohn and Company and the Deutsche Bank. The captain was informed that he could use this credit according to his needs without any further reference to his chiefs who preferred to avoid direct communication with him. At the same time Count von Pourtales gave him letters from Berlin in which he found among other things a copy of the circular which had been sent by the German government

to different groups of German banks calling on them to open in haste agencies in Luleo, Haparanda and Varda on the Finnish frontier and also in Bergen, in Norway, and Amsterdam in Holland. Captain Rustenberg knew that the opening of these agencies had been decided upon long before in case of the danger of the breaking out of a European war, and the fact that this decision had been brought into execution convinced him that Europe was really on the eve of such a cataclysm.

In this circular the captain noted that among the establishments of credit abroad referred to as likely to prove useful to the German government, the Nya Bank in Stockholm was one of the first mentioned. During the few days he had remained in the Swedish capital, he had interviewed Mr. Aschberg, the director of the bank, who had informed him that he had received recently considerable sums from the State Bank in Berlin with instructions to keep them at the disposal of the German government.

Captain Rustenberg had known Olaf Aschberg for a long time. The banker had been in the employ of Germany for a number of years and had helped her in different financial transactions in Russia as well as in the United States, which, for reasons best known to the "Professor" and to

other lights in the Intelligence Department, it would have been inadvisable to carry openly. Aschberg was an exceedingly able man who thoroughly understood the manipulation of figures. Captain Rustenberg felt sure that he was well informed as to the real aims Germany had in view, and that he, together with other financiers, had drawn up the plan of campaign which would allow Germany to spend the large sums under his control with advantage.

Captain Rustenberg also heard another thing, but strange to say it was Colonel Massojedoff who informed him of it at another interview the day following the assassination of the poor Archduke. As far back as June 9 the German government had informed all industrial concerns in Germany that they were to open the sealed documents which they received regularly every year from the General Staff and which concerned the industrial mobilization plans of the whole country. The explanation given for this extraordinary measure was that the military authorities wanted a rehearsal of what would have to be done in case of war. But this explanation did not satisfy the captain in the least, whether it did others or not.

In the meantime the preparations for the visit of the French President continued, but as they

went on, the growing agitation among the labor circles became more obvious. Meetings were held without the consent of the police and Kerensky, among others, talked openly of the necessity for labor to organize against capital and called upon the workmen to rise against the shameful exploitation, as they called it, of their toil by a few men who wanted to make millions easily. The visit of M. Poincaré was represented as a call to arms of Russia, and most of the leaders of the labor groups made vigorous speeches in which they said that Russia had had enough of war during the campaign against Japan and that, if any one tried to draw her into another campaign, it would be little short of a crime.

One morning came the news that a part of the Poutiloff factory had gone on strike and in the course of a few hours all or nearly all of the other industrial establishments of the capital had followed its example. Cabmen also declared that they had had enough of their trade, and leaving their horses in the stables loitered in the streets and watched the processions which tried to parade here and there. The bakers soon followed suit, so that on the day M. Poincaré was expected to make his entry into Russia, the capital found itself without bread, without newspapers and without

cabs, not to speak of several other things of less importance.

The strike, because strike it was, though it extended to something like three hundred thousand people, was an orderly one. No acts of violence were committed, if we except the holding up of a few tram cars. In the fashionable streets of St. Petersburg there were no disturbances of any kind, but in the Wiborg quarter where most of the factories were located windows were broken and the red flag displayed.

An amusing anecdote was told about the display of the red flag. Workmen carried it in one of the processions which filled the streets. But . . . instead of the pure red standard of Anarchy they had little tri-colored banners. They skilfully contrived to dissimulate the white and blue stripes when out of sight of the police. But whenever the police appeared, the French emblem was displayed with ostentation. Of course the police noted the trick, but they were powerless in the presence of a violation of the law which could never be proved. The same thing happened with regard to the *Marseillaise* which was heard everywhere. It was impossible for the authorities to object to it in view of the fact that it had been played before the Czar when he welcomed M.

Poincaré, and yet everybody felt that the reason the famous hymn had all at once become popular was not because those who sang it with such enthusiasm intended to make themselves pleasant to the French President.

The government was greatly embarrassed. It was out of the question to call the troops to subdue the strike as would have undoubtedly been done at other times. They could not give a spectacle of civil war during the visit of the head of the government of an allied nation. The Guard regiments, on which the Court relied, were at the camp of Krasnoié Sélo for the summer manœuvers and it would have made an immense sensation if they had been called back. Nevertheless this was done, but under cover of night, and it was decided that as soon as M. Poincaré had sailed from Peterhof strong measures of repression would be resorted to against the strikers who had chosen such an inopportune time for their manifestations.

But the strikers seemed to have been warned in some mysterious manner of what was in store for them, for no sooner had the president taken leave of his Imperial hosts than they resumed work and settled to their usual occupations. During the eight days' strike they had asked nothing and on the whole had behaved extremely well. It was

impossible, therefore, to attempt anything against them, the more so that on the morning following the departure of M. Poincaré the aspect of St. Petersburg was perfectly normal and not a man was absent from his work anywhere. The newspapers reappeared as if nothing whatever had been the matter; the cabmen were at their posts; the bakers again began to deliver their loaves, and the postmen and telegraph boys resumed their former occupations. Not one of them would say that he had been on strike, and to the question why they had not reported for work they invariably replied that they had been ill and unable to move.

The authorities were nonplussed. But soon other preoccupations came to divert public attention from this unexplained manifestation of the laboring classes against the government. The Austrian ultimatum to Servia was launched and for twenty-four hours no one talked or thought of anything else. It was at this juncture that a terrific looking Jew appeared one morning at the hotel where Captain Rustenberg was staying and insisted on seeing him. At last the captain was compelled to receive him, though most unwillingly. The Jew turned out to be Adolphe Joffe, about whom Mr. Barker had spoken. He was an awful creature but a clever fellow, and one who, it was

quite evident from the first moment he opened his mouth, was not troubled with anything so inconvenient as scruples in any shape or form. He told the captain that he had been staying in St. Petersburg for the past six months or so, working among the anarchist circles of the capital, where, he assured him, he had obtained useful information, but that now he thought it was time for him to go abroad again. It was most likely, it seemed to him, that the position of his coreligionists was about to become even more complicated and difficult than was already the case. When the captain asked him why he thought this was the case, he smiled that abominable fat smile peculiar to his race and assured his host that he ought not to ask him such a question as he knew much better than he did himself that what he was telling was nothing but the truth.

Captain Rustenberg began to think that it was high time for him to turn his back on St. Petersburg where his position was just as likely to become disagreeable if the peace of Europe was really put in jeopardy. Joffe did not inspire him with the slightest confidence and in fact the captain suspected him of being a spy in the employ of the Russian police, which he most probably was, and so he asked him point blank what he wanted of

him and why he had come to him. Joffe replied that he had heard that the captain was a great friend of Count von Pourtales and so he had applied to him in the hope that he would put in a good word for the poor Jew during one of his conversations with the Count and ask the latter for a passport so that he, Joffe, might leave the country. By that time the captain's suspicions had increased considerably and he told his unwelcome visitor that he had no intention of doing anything of the kind as the matter did not concern him and that he'd better go to the Ambassador himself and see what the Count could do for him.

Joffe seemed to take this advice in good part, smiled again and took his leave without displaying any disappointment at the small impression which he had produced. When the captain thought Joffe had been gone a sufficiently long time so that he would not risk meeting him in the street, he left the hotel in his turn and went to the Embassy. He wanted to find out whether it was advisable to send a telegram in code to his chiefs, but Count von Pourtales, preoccupied and anxious, implored him to do nothing of the kind, as he had reasons to suspect that everybody and everything connected with the Embassy was being strictly watched by the Russian police. He added that

the only advice he could give the captain was to leave Russia immediately. This was not easy for him to do, for his orders had been most precise on the point of moving until he was recalled to Berlin. Still he recognized the wisdom of the Ambassador's warning and he would have given a good deal to have been able to communicate with the "Professor."

As the captain was walking gloomily back on the Nevsky Prospect and wondering what to do, he met Colonel Massojedoff, who stopped him immediately. He said that he was very glad to be able to take leave of the captain as he was going back to Wirballen that night having received orders to return to his post at once. He then asked the captain whether he could be of any use to him by sending a letter or telegram for him from Eydtkhunen, the Prussian frontier station five minutes from Wirballen.

"You can trust me to do so," he added significantly.

Captain Rustenberg thought for a moment and then decided that it was best to try and avail himself of this unexpected opportunity. He went into a café and wrote out a message simply asking whether business required his presence at home, a message which could compromise no one in case it

fell into the wrong hands. Then he bade the colonel good-by and shook hands with him cordially.

The colonel kept his promise faithfully, for the next evening the captain received a wire with the simple words, "Advise return at once." As may be imagined he lost no time in taking the hint and left St. Petersburg the next day.

CHAPTER VIII

GERMANY REALLY MEANS WAR

The journey to Berlin via Wirballen and Königsberg was peaceful and uneventful. Though alarmist rumors had been going the rounds in St. Petersburg the two or three days preceding the captain's departure, these rumors did not appear to have gone further than the capital, for everything seemed perfectly quiet in the interior of the country. There were no movements of troops, and the railway service went on as usual. Even in Kovno, where on account of its importance as a fortress one might have expected to see a certain animation prevailing, the station appeared as quiet as it had always been and the gendarmes on duty were just as sleepy as in former times. The train stopped two hours at Wirballen for the examination of passports, but the station master and the military officials entrusted with the care of the frontier did not even question the travelers from St. Petersburg which they would have undoubtedly done had they suspected that

such a grave event as war with Germany was impending.

Captain Rustenberg found his old friend Colonel Massojedoff awaiting the train on the station platform, who immediately singled him out and came up to him. The colonel greeted him cordially, saying that he had expected him and adding that since he was there it proved that the telegram he had sent had reached its destination. Of course the captain thanked him for his kindness in sending it off and then Massojedoff drew him aside to his own room and questioned him with a certain anxiety as to what had happened in St. Petersburg during the past two days. The captain answered to the best of his ability and said that though the town was evidently excited and street manifestations had taken place, the aspect was not alarming by any means, and he added that he could not understand the reasons for the panic which seemed suddenly to have seized certain people. At this time Captain Rustenberg could not bring himself to believe that there was going to be war, though, of course, he recognized fully that the attitude of the German government was very strange and justified to a certain extent the feelings of anxiety on the part of the alarmists.

Massojedoff listened with great attention, then

to the captain's surprise took a paper from his pocket and simply put it before the latter's eyes. It was the secret order of mobilization issued by the German staff, dated the seventeenth of July; it was then the twenty-ninth of the month.

Captain Rustenberg looked at the colonel and with an emotion which he felt he could not well control asked him by what means this document had come into his hands. He supposed that some spy or other had brought it, but the colonel seemed to read his thoughts on the subject, for he remarked that he need not worry as to how he had come into possession of this scrap of paper because it had been through legitimate means. And then he added:

"Yes, we are going to see great events, but I hope that out of them Russia will emerge stronger and more powerful than she has ever been before. This campaign will be a short one, and the shorter it is the better it will be in the long run. Russia must recognize that all her vital interests require an intimate alliance with the German Empire; she never could have concluded it in view of her previous engagements with France. It must, therefore, be imposed on her, and how can this be unless she is beaten in the field? A war in which she is the vanquished party will certainly be a blessing

in disguise for her, and every true Russian patriot ought to wish for that day to dawn as quickly as possible."

Captain Rustenberg listened to this speech in amazement and he might have replied to it, if at that moment a timid knock had not been heard at the door. "Come in," said the colonel, impatiently, and who should appear on the scene, but the captain's acquaintance of a few days before whom he had treated so badly, M. Adolphe Joffe.

The Jew came in rather diffidently, and as the captain looked at him, he came to the conclusion that never in his life had he seen anything more repulsive than the face and figure of this Joffe. He had enormous ears which seemed as if Nature had stuck them on the side of his head as an afterthought; they were large, wide and dirty, and altogether took up so much room that they hardly left any for his other features. A small, unkempt little tuft of hair on his chin with some pretensions to be called a beard gave him the look of some low beast of prey, a hyena or something of that kind. He was broad shouldered and fat, disagreeably fat, if one can use the word, for his corpulence seemed entirely unhealthy. But the eyes were bright and keen and scanned curiously everything around him with an expression which justified any

prejudices one might entertain towards him. Joffe might be a clever man, the captain thought, but he was sure that it would be no libel to say that he could by no means be an honest one.

Massojedoff also seemed disagreeably impressed by the Jew's presence, and asked him rather roughly what he wanted. Joffe at once became as humble as humble could be, and inquired with some hesitation whether certain letters which he had been expecting and which ought to have been addressed to him at Wirballen in care of the colonel had arrived. The latter looked at the captain as if to see whether he had heard what the Jew had been saying, but he made no sign that he was paying any attention to what was going on in the room. The fact was that he did not care to show that he knew the illustrious Joffe, who, he felt sure, was up to some dirty work, and something told him that the Jew had been unpleasantly impressed by the fact of his presence in the room and that he was not going to show that they were acquainted with each other. What puzzled the captain was to find him in communication with Massojedoff. By this time he was aware of the double game the colonel was playing and knew that he was as much an agent of Germany as he was in the service of the Czar. But the captain

would not have thought that the colonel could have anything in common with the little Hebrew who, he believed, was quite a subordinate member of the German Intelligence Service.

The colonel went to a small cupboard in the corner of the room and took out a small parcel of papers which he handed to Joffe. The latter seized them with eagerness and bowed himself from the apartment. Just as he was about to close the door, Massojedoff stopped him.

"Are you crossing the border with this train?" he asked.

"No," answered Joffe, "I mean to cross it to-morrow. I wanted to go back to Kovno to-night."

"Then don't do so," said the colonel. "The sooner you are out of the country the better. Go, and Hell be with you," he added under his breath.

Joffe bowed again and withdrew as quietly as he had come. The Russian officer turned to Captain Rustenberg with the remark:

"You see, this man is one of the most dangerous anarchists we have ever had in this country, but try and trap him as we would we have never succeeded in finding him in any propaganda work which would have justified his arrest. He pretends to be an honest trader engaged in legitimate

business, and several times he has proved useful to us in ferreting out smugglers who, as you may imagine, are very active in Wirballen. Personally I detest the fellow, and I would like to have him out of the country at the present juncture. That is why I advised him to cross the frontier to-day. Shall we go to the restaurant?"

Evidently the colonel wanted to explain his relations with the spy, and Captain Rustenberg thought it wise to accept his explanations. In his inmost heart he thought that there was not much difference between M. Joffe and Colonel Massojedoff, except their looks. One was a handsome man with a prepossessing appearance, while the other was a repulsive looking creature. But they did the same work, a work of which the captain did not approve, for he already considered that the only thing which would justify it was the fact that it was performed for one's country. And neither the amiable officer who was talking to him nor the Hebrew trader was a German so far as he knew.

Captain Rustenberg parted from Massojedoff amiably enough and the latter procured him a comfortable compartment in the sleeping car which was to take him to Berlin, where the train was due next

morning. The captain was tired and hoped for a good night's rest, but he found that this was impossible on account of the constant interruptions in the journey. If everything was quiet in Russia, this was certainly not the case in Germany. The train was delayed everywhere owing to the passage of what one would have called military trains, if one had not been told by the station master at Königsberg that they were merely goods trucks carrying a quantity of material to Russia. He did not add that it was never intended that these materials should reach their destination, but that they were to remain on the frontier line, as the captain knew was to be the case. If he had hoped that the sinister forebodings which had robbed him of his rest for the past few days were due only to overwrought nerves, he could no longer believe that this was so after the trip from Eydtkhunen to Berlin. He could see that Germany really meant war and that the time had come when the German nation was to make its supreme effort to gain at last that hegemony of the world for which it had been working for half a century. The only thing that puzzled the captain was why this particular time and moment had been chosen among all others to set a match to the terrible con-

flagration which was to turn Europe into a mass of ruins. He obtained a reply to this question very soon.

Captain Rustenberg reached Berlin at noon instead of at six o'clock in the morning when his train would have been due under other circumstances. He at once went to his hotel, had a bath and changed his clothes, and then started in search of the " Professor." For a wonder he found him at the Foreign Office in his old room to which he seemed to have returned. As usual in grave moments he was very serious and not at all communicative. His first words though polite were not encouraging for it seemed to the captain that he had lost interest in the mission he had entrusted to his agent a few weeks before and that it did not matter any longer what was going on in St. Petersburg. Nevertheless the " Professor " listened with attention, and, when the captain had concluded, he arose from his chair and remarked with a weary accent:

" All this is very well; the question is how long this war will last."

" So it is war? " said the captain.

" Of course. Did you for one moment think that it would be otherwise? Yes, it is war; we really mean war this time, and a few days from

now will see it a reality. This does not worry me, because I know that we shall win the struggle. But what weighs on my mind is the future and the length of time this struggle will take. The German machine is a wonderful thing, but I am not quite sure whether it will stand well the wear and tear a lengthy campaign would mean. The whole question is how soon Russia can be brought to her knees and compelled to conclude an alliance with us. This alliance would bring about the establishment of our commercial and industrial superiority and omnipotence in the whole world. However, these are questions which the future alone can answer. In the meantime we must hope for the best and go on working as well as we have worked to the present day. Now give me your letters, if you have brought any with you."

The captain handed the chief a few missives which had been entrusted to him, and the "Professor" dismissed him with the remark that he would probably want him to return the next day when they could talk matters over quietly and discuss the impressions the captain had brought back from St. Petersburg. After the captain had taken his leave of the "Professor," he was going down the steep staircase of the Foreign Office on his way to his hotel when he was attracted by the figure of

a man emerging from one of the doors which communicated directly with the room sacred to the Chancellor of the German Empire and where he transacted his private business. This figure somehow seemed familiar to the captain and looking at it more closely he recognized, dressed in the best and most fashionable clothes, the creature he had nearly kicked out of his room at St. Petersburg and afterwards affected to ignore at Wirballen, M. Adolphe Joffe.

CHAPTER IX

COLONEL MASSOJEDOFF'S LAST VISIT TO BERLIN

This is not a story of the war, so it is useless to relate the events which followed the captain's return to Berlin or to describe the state of effervescence in which the population was thrown when it heard that both Russia and France had attacked the German Empire. For this was the official version which the government asked the people to accept and believe. Numerous demonstrations of loyalty towards the reigning house occurred, and all the members of the royal family were wildly cheered when they showed themselves on the street. The Kaiser appeared on the balcony of the Schloss and made his memorable speech in which he declared that he knew henceforth no political parties in the country and considered all citizens as Germans. What else they could have been has never been ascertained so far as I know. The words lacked common sense, but they were accepted as one of the most wonderful sayings that had ever been heard. The enthusiasm was in-

tense and surpassed anything that had ever been seen or thought possible. When the Guards left for the front, there were scenes of wild excitement and everywhere the people were shouting, "To Paris! To Paris!"

And for a time it seemed as if the Germans were going to Paris, so rapidly did the troops march on the French capital. So fast did they march that the next thing that was heard was that the advanced posts had reached Compiègne notwithstanding the resistance in Belgium, which surprised the German people more than one can tell, for they had been led to expect that the little country whose neutrality was being trampled under German feet with such superb unconcern was ready to receive the German troops with open arms and only too willing to accept their Kultur. The Belgian affair caused considerable heart burnings, for there were people even in Germany who thought she was in the wrong in falling on a poor little country which she had promised to respect and which she had solemnly bound herself never to attack. But, of course, sentimental reasons could have no weight with the General Staff which considered it essential for success to try to get to Paris by the shortest route and in the quickest time possible. The Intelligence Department did won-

ders at this juncture, and the excellence of the German system of spies was never more clearly revealed than during the trying weeks when the fate of the campaign hung in the balance. Everywhere the Prussians found that they had been informed most accurately by their agents of what they were to find. If Namur, Liège, and, later on, Antwerp fell so easily into the hands of the Germans, it was not so much on account of the excellence and perfection of their artillery as it was because they had in their possession most exact plans of these fortresses with indications of the weak points to be attacked in order to insure their prompt surrender.

But meanwhile things were not going so well on the Russian front. The armies of the Czar had invaded East Prussia and seemed steadily advancing towards Königsberg without meeting any resistance worthy of the name. This caused great wonder and no small amount of bitterness in Germany in general and in Prussia in particular. The Junkers were frantic and screamed as loud as they could, or rather dared, against the apathy of the government that was allowing the invasion of sacred German soil which it had been promised would never be defiled by the foot of foreign foe. The fact was that the bulk of the German forces

had been thrown on the western front in the hope of bringing the resistance of the French to a speedy end, force them to conclude an immediate peace, and thus enable the armies of the Kaiser to hurl themselves on the armies of his other neighbor, Nicholas II.

However things did not turn out as had been planned. For one thing General Joffre turned the cards on General von Kluck and obliged him to retreat with far more haste than he had shown in advancing towards the Marne. The German Staff had to proceed to a complete change in its strategy and plans. It was decided to try and retrieve the undoubted loss of prestige which German arms had suffered and to restore the shattered confidence of the country by the help of brilliant victories on the eastern front.

Captain Rustenberg had been living quietly in Berlin during this period, seeing his chiefs occasionally, but doing nothing in the way of work. One morning he was called to the telephone and informed that his presence was required at Headquarters that same night. He obeyed, of course, and at about eleven o'clock presented himself to Colonel X., whom he found in anything but a pleasant frame of mind. He did not keep the captain for any length of time, but briefly ordered

him to start for the Russian frontier in an automobile where he was to meet a Russian officer. He was to bring him to Berlin as quickly as possible and then take him back to where he first found him. The officer would, of course, not be in uniform, but he would be waiting for the captain at a point near Eydtkhunen which was carefully shown him on the map.

After he had delivered his instructions, Colonel X. bowed his head in a gesture of dismissal, leaving the captain much perplexed as he had received no indication as to how he would know the officer who, he did not doubt for a moment, was a spy who had entered the German service, probably with the promise of a large reward. At last he ventured to ask his Chief how he was to recognize the man he had been told to bring to Berlin. The colonel raised his head in surprise as though he had not given a thought to the matter and then said briefly:

"Oh, you know the man perfectly well; it is Colonel Massojedoff."

Captain Rustenberg was staggered to say the least. Of course he was perfectly well aware that the officer in question was betraying his country and had been doing so for some time, his attitude in St. Petersburg had left him no doubt on that

score, but he had certainly never expected that the colonel would be daring enough to pay Berlin a visit when his country and Germany were at war. However it was not the captain's place to make remarks to his Chief, who certainly would not have tolerated them, so he silently took his leave and an hour later was already on his way towards that Eydtkhunen where he had parted a few weeks before from the very man he was now to meet again under such different circumstances.

Captain Rustenberg found Massojedoff at the indicated spot dressed in plain traveling clothes with a thick ulster over them and a pair of blue spectacles hiding his eyes. The colonel greeted the captain with more effusion than the latter showed to him. The fellow's conduct disgusted the captain, who was wondering the whole time how an officer of such rank, who had been entrusted with different confidential missions by his superiors, who certainly held him in high esteem, could stoop to make himself the enemy of his country for money. The whole thing was a mystery to the captain, the more so as the man himself was certainly sympathetic and would have seemed to one who saw him for the first time an exceedingly frank and straightforward individual with exquisite manners and a refined mind. He would

have been the last person to be suspected of selling to the enemy the secrets of his Fatherland and yet here he was doing the most despicable of deeds, probably in the hope of a large pecuniary reward for his infamy.

Captain Rustenberg tried not to think much about the matter and not to show Massojedoff the loathing with which he inspired him, so he pretended to be absorbed in his driving which could easily be attributed to the bad state of the roads. The colonel must have noticed that the captain's manner towards him was changed, for he suddenly laid his hand on the latter's arm with the remark that he could tell what he was thinking about.

Seeing that the captain did not reply, he went on in a curious detached manner:

"You are very indignant with me and you are trying hard not to let me see the loathing you feel for me. Let me try, therefore, to explain matters to you and give me the chance to defend myself. It is quite true that I am what the world calls a traitor, but I am quite willing to accept the reprobation of that world and to submit to its censure, because I know that in acting as I am doing, I am serving my country far better than those who are trying their best to lead it to ruin. I have always been of the opinion that the only way for

Russia to become great and be able to occupy the position she is entitled to in Europe is to act in perfect accord with Germany and to share with her the empire of the world.

" The French alliance will never be of use to us; all our interests are on the German side, and Germany alone can civilize us by admitting us to the benefits of her culture, science and learning. Therefore all that I am doing to-day is in perfect accord with the opinions I have always professed, and I feel that I am rendering an inestimable service to my country in trying to shorten for her the trial she is undergoing and bring it to a quick end. When we are thoroughly beaten, then we shall turn our backs on France and hand in hand with Germany we shall find ourselves on the road to prosperity. I want us beaten because a defeat alone can bring us to our senses and make us give up the ridiculous political notions which have brought upon us the present catastrophe. Believe me, the day will come and must come when Germany and Russia will be the best and closest of friends, and it is in order to hasten that day that I am lending myself to the intrigue in which you find me engaged and in which I know that I am risking my life."

There was nothing to reply to this strange con-

fession, and Captain Rustenberg did not attempt a discussion about this curious point of view. He carried his traveling companion safely to Berlin where the colonel spent a few hours during which he saw the principal men in the Intelligence Department and, so it was reported, the Kaiser himself who happened to be in the capital for a short sojourn. Then Captain Rustenberg took Massojedoff back to the Russian frontier. As they parted the colonel made no offer to shake hands, but merely said:

"Well, I do not suppose that we shall ever meet again, but perhaps when you hear that I have paid my debt you will think of me more leniently than you do now."

A few months later Massojedoff was found out and during his trial repeated exactly what he had told Captain Rustenberg during this memorable drive. He was, of course, condemned to death, and his last moments were terrible because he would not die and struggled with the executioner a long time before the latter could at last tighten the fatal noose. One would have been tempted to think there was a taint of madness in him had it not been for one damning circumstance — the large amount of money the German government paid him for his treason. As for the reasons

which took him to Berlin on that day when Captain Rustenberg saw him for the last time they were never revealed to the agent but from what he heard later on it seems that it was thanks to the information the spy brought on that occasion that Field Marshal von Hindenburg was able to lay out the plans which culminated in the horror known by the name of the Battle of Tannenberg.

CHAPTER X

THE CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN PRUSSIA

Those who say that the people in Germany felt elated during the first six weeks of the war make a grievous mistake, for, on the contrary, public opinion was much alarmed when it became known that East Prussia had been invaded. The panic was so complete that there was talk of the necessity of evacuating Königsberg and even Berlin. Captain Rustenberg was told to try and find out the exact conditions as to what was being said and thought in the different classes of society and the results of his secret investigations convinced him that Germany's military leaders ought to make a supreme effort in order to restore the shattered confidence of the nation. The fact was that no one had wanted the war and the only way to make this calamity acceptable to the country was to convince the people that the German army was still the invincible machine it had proved to be during the lifetime of old Emperor William and of Bismarck and Moltke.

As I have said, after the battle of the Marne the plan of campaign had to be remodeled and all effort given to the annihilation of Russia. But at that time Russia still had a strong army which revolutionary propaganda had not yet contaminated and a considerable effort would be required to bring it to bay. One afternoon Colonel X. again summoned Captain Rustenberg and asked him quite bluntly whether he thought it possible to ascertain in some way or other the plans of the Russian General Staff. Unfortunately the captain could be of no assistance in that capacity, but, perhaps out of malice more than from anything else, he suggested that Colonel Massojedoff might be of greater service than himself in this enterprise. Colonel X. shrugged his shoulders with a gesture of impatience, but said nothing. He then asked the captain to tell him what he thought of the whole situation. The reply was short and frank. The captain explained that from what he had been able to learn while he was in Russia it seemed to him that the most important thing to do would be to win a decisive victory over the Russian troops, after which pressure should be brought to bear on public opinion in Petrograd so as to bring a speedy cessation of hostilities. The press ought to be influenced, and, he added, we all knew

by what means such a result could be obtained.

Whether what the captain said produced any impression is unknown, but soon after this conversation Germany was startled by the news of the famous battle of Tannenberg and in the three months which followed the Grand Duke Nicholas had to retire from East Prussia under the pressure and masterful strokes of General von Hindenburg. What might be called the first phase of the campaign ended with a complete triumph for the Prussian arms.

To the man in the street this seemed exceedingly satisfactory, but this was not the case with the German Staff who all the time they had been fighting had had their minds riveted on the hope of concluding an honorable peace as soon as possible. They knew full well, even if others did not, how precarious the hold of the Czar on his throne was, and they dreaded a revolution which might drive him into exile and place men less willing and less ready than they thought him to be to separate the cause of Russia from that of the Allies. It should not be forgotten that at that time the text of the famous London treaty in which the Allies pledged themselves not to conclude a separate peace independently of each other was not known, and consequently the German government could hope to

succeed in detaching Russia from England and France, while Italy had not yet entered the conflict. It may perhaps surprise my readers when I say that at that time all the attention of German diplomacy as well as that of the Staff was directed towards the swift conclusion of a peace which, they were well aware, was the only means of avoiding crushing disasters in the future.

There were important conferences at the headquarters of the Intelligence Department, conferences during which all or nearly all its most trusted agents were asked their opinion in regard to a formidable plan of spying and corruption of important personages in Russia, which it was intended to put into execution. The vast scheme of fomenting a revolution to detach Russia from the Allies was considered and it was in the course of these discussions which Captain Rustenberg attended that he heard mentioned for the first time the name of Lenine as a man capable at a given moment and under certain circumstances of becoming a powerful asset to the German game. With his name was that of another, of whom the captain had not heard before, that of Leon Trotzky. The latter was said to be in America, and it was related further that for a long time he had helped to strengthen the feelings of animosity which the ex-

treme socialistic parties everywhere entertained for the Russian reigning family and had preached revolt against the Russian government. Trotzky was a German subject — his real name was Braunstein — and he had been sent to Russia for the first time in 1905 during the first rebellion which collapsed under the energetic action of the military and civil authorities in the Empire of the Czar. Arrested for extreme anarchist propaganda, he had been sentenced to exile in Siberia, but he managed to escape, aided, this was openly acknowledged by the "Professor," by money sent to him from Berlin and which reached him in a mysterious manner never revealed to any one. Since that time he had been living in Germany, where he had edited a small newspaper of advanced opinions, but he had remained in close touch with Russian anarchist circles. When war broke out, it had been considered advisable to expel Trotzky from Berlin so that no one should have the idea that he was in the employ of the Prussian Intelligence Department and attached to the Civil Service. He had gone to Paris, where the authorities had become suspicious and asked him to make himself scarce. So he moved to Spain, where he was also considered too undesirable to remain. Then he went to Switzerland, and his steps finally led him

to the United States, where he was awaiting a call to return to Russia and resume his former activities. Of course all this constituted a splendid record, and it was not surprising that its owner was looked upon with interest by his chiefs. Still it was not thought at that time that his activities would ever justify the hopes that were centered on him and Captain Rustenberg ventured to say so. His words did not seem to meet with the approval of either the " Professor " or of Colonel X., for they both snubbed him and told him that he was talking about something he did not know.

These conferences resulted in secret service agents being dispatched to Switzerland, France and England, where they were to try and get into close and intimate relations with all the exiled Russian anarchists living abroad and to induce them to enter into a phase of activity which of late had been abandoned. Large sums were to be put at their disposal to permit them to foment strikes and discontent in all the factories and among all the munition workers in Russia. They were to be assured that every facility in the way of passports and spurious documents was to be given them to enable them to return to Petrograd without their identity being suspected by the Russian authorities.

It was decided at the same time to send other agents to the Russian capital to enter into close relations with several leading newspaper men capable of starting a peace drive which would exercise an influence on public opinion. The chiefs of the Intelligence Department believed that if the bugbear of revolution was exhibited in its naked ugliness before the eyes of the Czar Nicholas II, he would hasten to conclude peace so as to save the throne threatened by anarchy.

By this time Germany was completely victorious in Eastern Prussia, and the Germans were slowly advancing on Warsaw. On the other hand Germany's ally Austria was in a bad plight and exceedingly sorry for herself. Lemberg and almost the whole of Galicia had fallen into the hands of the Russian troops and even the stronghold of Przemysl, which had been believed impregnable, had capitulated after a siege of a few weeks. The Grand Duke Nicholas was said to have declared that the spring would see him before the walls of Vienna and a certain amount of panic prevailed in the Austrian capital. The German Staff felt that the best way to break the moral backbone of Russia was to launch a drive against the Czar's armies in Galicia strong enough and powerful enough to compel them to evacuate the country. It was

hoped that after that the Russian government would listen to reason, accept the hand stretched to it and a peace which would let it off easily, comparatively speaking of course.

At that time Germany did not want to see the Czar overthrown. On the contrary one of the ideas lurking in the background was the establishment of a close union with Russia which would put at Germany's disposal all her vast resources in raw materials which, after all, were the aim for which the Central Empires had been fighting ever since the beginning of the war. A defensive and offensive treaty with Russia would have given Germany inestimable advantages and allowed her to dictate her own terms to France and England and compel the acceptance of any conditions it might please the enemy to impose.

This plan of making Russia the humble servant of Germany was the basis of the conduct of the whole campaign from the first day. It was, naturally enough, modified according to the course of events, but the main idea never changed. At first it was hoped to bring it into execution with the help of the Czar; after he was overturned it was endeavored to get the Revolutionary government to accept it; when that failed, it was finally decided to have recourse to the ever powerful argu-

ment of bribery, which is generally so successful in Russia. Then it was that the Bolshevik movement was engineered, paid for with German money, and that the Bolshevik government, headed by Trotzky and Lenine, seized the country which it was to betray and lead to destruction with such rapidity. They could never have become the masters had it not been for the encouragement, or rather the help, they received from the Prussian General Staff and the Prussian Intelligence Department. They alone were responsible for all the disasters that befell unfortunate, misguided Russia.

CHAPTER XI

THE KAISER GOES TO VIENNA

The people of Vienna, as has been said, were not quite so satisfied as the General Staff would have liked them to be in regard to the developments of the war. Galicia had always been a pet possession of the Hapsburgs and it was painful for old Francis Joseph to see it in the hands of a hated invader. The aged sovereign had never forgiven Russia for the service which she had rendered him when the troops of the Czar Nicholas I came to his rescue during the Hungarian Rebellion in the first years of his reign. Like all mean souls to whom it is impossible to bear the burden of gratitude, he had disliked the Romanoffs and their country ever since. When the war started, Francis Joseph had been told, and indeed had believed, that it would be a sort of walkover during which both the Muscovite and the French armies would flee in disorder and panic before his advancing soldiers backed by the troops of his powerful ally, Ger-

many. Now he saw these bright dreams somewhat shattered, and he found himself faced with the loss of one of his favorite provinces while the fate of another, Transylvania, trembled in the balance. This was rather more than his equanimity could stand, and he did not take the trouble to hide from his friend the Kaiser what he thought about the catastrophe which had befallen him and his people.

William II did not like to see Francis Joseph dissatisfied. The old man was a useful pawn in the game, as the Kaiser could always put him forward on the occasions when he did not want to compromise himself by untimely utterances. The German Staff thought that Austria ought momentarily to be left to her fate and that later on would be high time to deliver her from the Russian Bear. But the Kaiser did not agree and he urged a quick advance against the armies of the Grand Duke Nicholas so as not to run the risk, as he put it pathetically, "of seeing the Emperor of Austria," who just at that time had been extremely ill with congestion of the lungs, "of seeing him die with the thought that Galicia had been wrested from him."

This was nonsense, because at heart William II troubled little about the small and petty sor-

rows of his aged ally. But he had other reasons for wishing his armies to strike a great blow and win new laurels. On the other hand, the General Staff still held to the opinion that a waiting policy would in the long run be the more favorable because it would spare the lives of many German soldiers. What they wanted, and especially what both Hindenburg and Mackensen wanted, was to try and lure the Russian armies into a trap like the one into which they had fallen at Tannenberg and so be able to slay thousands of men with the least danger to their own battalions. They had a beautiful plan to bring about the desired result, which was to be developed in the passes of the Carpathians into which the Grand Duke was unwisely engaging his troops. But in order for this plan to succeed as completely as desired, it was necessary to wait until winter had rendered the mountain roads impassable. The resolve of the Kaiser to hasten events brought about a complete change of tactics and the result was the triumphant march of Mackensen through Galicia and Poland. This proved more spectacular than at first had been thought possible, for its consequences were the fall of Warsaw and of the fortresses guarding the Vistula and the entrance into Russia itself.

Before Mackensen started on this march, a whole army of secret agents and spies was mobilized, which overran Galicia and Poland. These spies were recruited among all classes of society; even high born ladies were enrolled among them. Berlin was kept regularly informed of everything that went on at the Russian Headquarters and of every movement that was attempted on the Russian side. It became known that the extreme tactlessness of Tchinovnik and the Russian officials had exasperated the population of Galicia which was accustomed to enjoy considerable liberty under the Austrian rule. The religious question also embittered matters, inasmuch as the Orthodox clergy started from the first days of the Russian conquest a work of propaganda which it conducted with an utter disregard for the feelings of the people among whom it was practised. Part of the Ruthenian inhabitants of Galicia are Orthodox, and it was among them that Russia had always found partisans willing to work and, if the truth be told, to intrigue in her favor. In contrast to the Poles these Ruthenians had been badly treated by Austria and they thought the opportunity excellent to take revenge on their former masters. In a few short weeks Galicia became the scene of a civil war

superimposed on the war being waged between the two great Empires fighting for its possession. Of course the German Intelligence Department soon became aware of what was going on and made its profit out of the circumstances. There were plenty of Polish farmers and Jew traders who were only too willing to earn money in its service by reporting every kind of information likely to be of use. Thus the German Staff knew long before any of the Allies even suspected it that there was a complete lack of ammunition in the Russian army and that on this account it would never be able to withstand any serious frontal attack directed against it. They were also aware of the lamentable state of the Russian Commissariat Department and they learned how, in order to exist, the troops of the Czar were almost compelled to plunder the population of the conquered provinces. This of course added to the unpopularity of the Russian troops in the invaded provinces.

Germany had a whole squadron of Jew pedlars who went about all over the country with a horse and cart which they drove themselves, selling cheap wares and provisions of which they always seemed to have plenty and with which Germany had supplied them. These men always timid and standing in awe of every Russian officer whom

they happened to meet were in reality wonderful spies. They saw everything, noticed everything, and knew before anybody else, and better than anybody else, the exact condition of every Russian regiment in regard to ammunition and its commissariat necessities. It was partly due to the news which the German Staff gained from these spies that it was able to order several attacks which under different conditions might not have proved so successful as was the case. The Staff knew to a nicety the weak points in the colossal Russian war machine and where it could be struck with what one could almost call impunity.

All this of course cost money, but money was no object in the war which, among other things, changed completely the value of every currency in the world. The campaign had to be won and the cost of this victory became of secondary importance. There were even people in the Intelligence Department who kept saying that Germany was not spending enough, and that in particular it had neglected the press in the belligerent countries which ought to have received far more attention than was the case. Later on this was changed, and the millions which were spent in France, the United States and, last but not least, in Russia, so long as a press existed in that coun-

try, proved that this reproach often launched against the government by the chiefs of the Secret Service — the " Professor " among others — was not justified for any appreciable length of time.

It was, of course, impossible in Galicia to try any means of propaganda through the medium of newspapers, for nothing except the official gazette started by the Russians was allowed to be published. But the thing was easier in Poland due to the fact that part of it, including the town of Lodz, was in the possession of the Germans. So it was easy to smuggle as far as Warsaw and even farther any amount of Polish and Russian, not to mention German, fly leaves containing more or less true, and more or less pompous, accounts of the great victories the Germans were winning. Promises without number, which were never intended to be fulfilled, were made to the Polish population. The Poles were urged to side with the invading armies of Austria and Germany from whom alone they could expect and hope to win back the liberty which had been lost for almost two hundred years. The curious thing about this anti-Russian propaganda was that most of it was conducted by honest well-meaning people who would have been horrified if they had thought for a single moment that

they were playing the game of the Kaiser whom they detested. But these people, among whom could be found many members of the Roman Catholic clergy as well as scions of the noblest Polish aristocratic houses, never imagined that by spreading around them items of news surreptitiously acquired through some Jew pedlar or other they were simply performing the secret will of the very men whom they considered their enemies.

Thanks to the stupidity of the Russian military censors and of the Russian police, the public never heard anything that bore the faintest semblance of truth in regard to the whole course of the campaign and it was but natural that it should seek to be informed about it by every possible means. The little leaflets printed in Lodz and Kalisch by order of the German authorities were perused with the greatest interest and curiosity whenever and wherever they could be found. Naturally enough the people formed their opinions and ideas from the information these leaflets contained.

I think that I shall not surprise my readers unduly when I say that one of the great reasons for the undoubted successes which Germany gained during the first half of 1915 was due to the excellence of the Intelligence Department, just as

much as to the splendid strategic combinations of its Staff. People have wondered how Germany could press forward on her march to Vilna with such alacrity, and wild tales have been spread concerning the cowardice of the Russian troops who were represented as disbanding at the mere sight of the Prussian flag. In reality nothing of the kind occurred, and whenever the regiments of the Czar retreated before the advancing armies it was due to the fact that they had been taken unawares, thanks to the treason of their own commanders, an involuntary treason, but a treason all the same, because in war times no officer has the right to tell any one anything concerning the orders he has received. Unfortunately this was a thing which Russian officers were too much inclined to do, and because of this the Germans knew beforehand all that there was to learn concerning the weak points of their adversaries and all they lacked in order to be able to offer a serious resistance.

But while this work of the Prussian Intelligence Department was being carried out with such discretion and skill, the people in Austria were deeply excited, thanks to reports that the Cossacks were already in sight of Vienna. Francis Joseph became so alarmed that he was heard to say that

perhaps it would be a good thing if the Court and government were removed to Budapest, and he wrote this to the Kaiser. On receiving this letter William II at once made up his mind that there was but one thing to do and that was to start immediately for the castle of Schonbrunn and try to quiet the excited nerves of his aged ally. The interview proved a memorable one, because, although the Kaiser did not initiate Francis Joseph into all the details of the various plans conceived by the General Staff, he nevertheless restored the old Monarch's confidence in the future and the ultimate fate of the war. When Francis Joseph began lamenting the loss of Galicia, the Kaiser simply brushed his apprehensions aside with the remark, which the course of events was to make a memorable one:

"Let them take Galicia. We will never allow them to keep it."

CHAPTER XII

CAPTAIN RUSTENBERG GOES TO PETROGRAD ONCE MORE

A few days after the Kaiser's return from Vienna, Colonel X. sent for Captain Rustenberg who found his chief much worried about the political situation. He asked the captain to tell him candidly whether he thought any pressure could be brought to bear on public opinion in Russia concerning the necessity of concluding peace as soon as possible. The experienced officer was well aware that though the German army was wonderful and though there was scarcely a flaw in the perfection of the military machine William II was handling, yet the country would not be able in the long run to carry on indefinitely a war that was taxing all its resources to more than the utmost. Moreover, he understood, if others did not, that neither France nor England would throw up the game before it had been won. The struggle with Russia was keeping

an immense army engaged on the eastern front, and if it were transferred to the west before the English had succeeded in organizing their new armies, it could make short work of the forces opposing the German troops. He also realized that as Germany's enemies were getting stronger, she herself on the contrary was weakening in many respects. Therefore all that it wished for was the conclusion of a separate peace with Russia, which would release troops on one side of Germany and put at her disposal the food and raw materials which were becoming so scarce throughout the country.

Colonel X. was very indignant at the Foreign Office which he characterized as a nest of "incapacities," and he protested especially against the light heartedness with which several of Germany's representatives abroad had viewed the general political situation of Europe before, and immediately after, the beginning of the war. He despised, and made no secret of the fact, the Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg, whom he called an empire destroyer and whom he accused of behaving like an ass during the entire crisis. It must be observed that in general a state of outspoken hostility existed between the German Staff and the Foreign Office from the first days

of the war. The military leaders reproached the diplomats with a complete ignorance of the state of public opinion in the countries to which they were accredited; while the diplomats declared all along that it would have been possible to avoid war if the Junkers had not pressed it with such force and energy that there was nothing left to do but accept it with all its consequences.

But in the balmy spring days of the year 1915, while the whole of Germany was rejoicing at the fall of Warsaw and the long string of victories that accompanied it, the Staff and the Secret Service were giving their whole time to the best means of securing peace with Russia. They yearned for this with all their hearts for the Intelligence Department told them that this was the only means to save Germany from a crushing disaster, the probability of which was increasing with every passing day.

Captain Rustenberg had always been more or less in possession of the full confidence of his chiefs, and he saw quickly that Colonel X. also considered him worthy of his own. The captain thought it advisable, therefore, to ask the colonel point blank what it was he wanted of him at this juncture, the importance of which they both appreciated.

Colonel X. reflected for some minutes and then said, looking at the captain as if he wished to read his thoughts:

"I would like you to go to Petrograd once more, interview our friends there, and then report to me everything that you have the opportunity to observe during your stay which ought not to be a lengthy one in any case. But I will not hide from you that this journey will be attended by considerable danger and that, if you are discovered, we shall most certainly disavow you."

"I am not afraid," answered the captain. "I am quite ready to start whenever you want me to. But I do not suppose that it is for the sole purpose of having me feel the pulse of Russian public opinion that you are sending me to Petrograd."

"No, it is not for that purpose alone that we want you to go there," replied the colonel. "The real object of your journey will be to get in touch with public men and journalists whose names will be given to you, and to try and ascertain the amount of cash they will require to start a pacifist campaign."

"That will not be so very difficult," was the reply. "But may I ask you what newspapers you would like to win over to our side?"

The colonel thought for a while.

"Well," he said, "that would have to be left more or less to your discretion. We could not hope to get the *Nowoié Wrémia* at present, though in the case of a revolution, it would be the first to turn against its former masters. But you will find at the *Nowoié Wrémia* a man who has been working for us for a long time and who will be an excellent guide for you, Manassevitch-Maniuloff. He is about the biggest and greatest blackguard the world has ever known, but he is clever and wonderfully well informed, and . . . he is one of the friends of Rasputin, the Empress's favorite, and, if we can believe all we hear, the real Sovereign of Russia. The Czar does absolutely all he tells him to. I should recommend you to see Manassevitch-Maniuloff as often as you can."

"Will you allow me to put in a word, Colonel?" asked the captain.

"Yes, what is it?"

"Well, if you will not mind my saying so, I think I had better avoid seeing Manassevitch-Maniuloff. I happen to know something about that man whom I had occasion to meet in Paris and Rome, and I think the first thing he would do, if he discovered that I was in Russia, would

be to denounce me to the authorities and have me locked up, if not shot, as a spy."

The colonel looked up in surprise.

"Why, I thought our Minister in Stockholm, Baron von Lucius, advised me . . ."

"Yes," came the interruption, "he advised you that the said Maniuloff was one of the most useful agents in Russia. But precisely for that reason, I think it would be better if he saw nothing of me now. There is such a thing as *jalousie du métier,* you know."

The Chief smiled.

"Well, perhaps you are right, but then there are other people who might be useful to you and at the same time not be so . . . dangerous as M. Maniuloff. For instance, there is the editor of the *Gazette de la Bourse;* he, of course, would not take money, but he might be induced to play our game, if one put before his eyes the prospect of obtaining some political appointment after the war, such, for instance, as the position of Russian Ambassador in Berlin."

Captain Rustenberg could not help laughing at this remark. He knew well M. Propper, the owner and manager of the newspaper referred to, and the idea of the fat little millionaire of Polish Jew extraction promoted to the honor of an Em-

bassy was to say the least ridiculous. The colonel, however, did not seem to notice the impression his words had produced, for he went on:

"There is one paper which it would be highly advantageous for us to have on our side. That is the *Rousskoié Slowo* of Moscow. I hear that one of the editors, a certain M. Kalyschkoff, would be willing to act for us. I suggest, therefore, that you make it a point to see him and, if possible, bring him over to Stockholm or Copenhagen where some of our Staff could interview him. Find out the conditions under which he would act for us, and try to win his paper over to our opinion concerning the necessity for Russia to conclude a separate peace as soon as possible. I think, however, you had better go and discuss all these matters with Herr Director Steinwachs who will be able to tell you better than I can what it really is we wish you to perform. And, by the way, let me recommend you not to be too generous with money and to get full value for every penny you spend. We have already been duped more than once by Russians whom we wanted to employ. They promised us wonders, and after they had been paid they did nothing at all. Of course money has to be spent, but it must not be done in a reckless manner, the

more so since there is no knowing how much will be required before we succeed in getting what we want. You shall have a letter of credit on a bank in Petrograd, but please, please take care of it and do not overreach yourself in any way. And now I think you should go and see Herr Steinwachs."

Captain Rustenberg took leave of the colonel and repaired to the Colonial Office where he found Herr Steinwachs at his desk. He was in an excellent temper and chatted away merrily on indifferent subjects before he touched on matters of business. When he took up the question in hand, it was in a brisk tone of voice, which proved that he at least had none of the misgivings which worried Colonel X.

"I admire you, my dear Captain," he said, "for accepting without hesitation the . . . ahem . . . risky mission with which we desire to entrust you. However we shall do our best to make it as little perilous for you as possible Here is a passport establishing your identity as a Swiss subject going to Russia on business. You will note that it has all the necessary visas required in the present troubled times. When you arrive at Petrograd, you must not fail to report yourself to the Swiss Legation there so as to establish

your right to be in Russia. You will travel, of course, via Sweden, and I warn you that when you cross our frontier at Sassnitz, you will be thoroughly searched by our military authorities about whom you must complain loudly afterwards. This is essential in view of the numerous English and French spies who somehow elude our vigilance and watch all people going to Russia in the hope of finding our agents among them. You will stay in Stockholm only two days to see our Minister who will be able to give you precious information as to what is now going on in the Russian capital. But you must be very careful, because Sweden simply swarms with French and English spies who would be sure to denounce you if they had reason to suspect you were anything but the peaceful Swiss citizen you are supposed to represent.

"You will, of course, meet some of our men in Petrograd, and it will be left to your discretion whom you think it best to see. There is one man, however, whom I would advise you to avoid, though he is one of our best agents, Manassevitch-Maniuloff, one of the editors of the *Nowoié Wrémia,* whose name is, I suppose, familiar to you."

The captain could not help smiling and informed Herr Steinwachs of the details of the conversation

with Colonel X. in regard to the same man he was advising him to avoid. Steinwachs laughed in his turn.

"It seems that great minds think alike," he said, and then proceeded to give the captain a few short instructions, after which he handed him his passport and a letter of credit on the International Bank in Petrograd together with a sum of money for his immediate needs. As he did this he added significantly:

"Don't spare money. We have plenty to spend and one cannot be miserly on a trip like the one you are undertaking. Ah, I had almost forgotten, here is a letter you must read in the train on your way to Sassnitz and which please destroy immediately after you have read it."

Captain Rustenberg left with the impression that if the civilian and military chiefs of the department agreed in most things, it was not in regard to money.

CHAPTER XIII

GERMANY'S FRIENDS IN PETROGRAD — MME. SOUMENTAY

Captain Rustenberg found Petrograd considerably changed since his visit just before the war. For one thing the boastful tone of the Russian public which had been so aggressive in July, 1914, had entirely disappeared. The people looked anxious, worried and dissatisfied. The one topic of conversation was the incapacity of the government which was made directly responsible for the military disasters. The Grand Duke had strong partisans, especially among the officers, and of course he was popular among the Allied diplomats who but for the confidence they had in him would have been even more gloomy than they already were. The Emperor and Empress seemed to be disliked everywhere and by everybody. The Empress was especially disliked and she was called the "German" just as Marie Antoinette before the French Revolution was called the "Austrian." The disorder in administrative circles seemed

complete. No one appeared to know what to do or what to begin. The neglect which had brought about the lack of ammunition, the principal, or rather the only, cause of the collapse of the Russian army was talked about as the greatest scandal that had ever occurred even in this land of corruption and bribery that owned Nicholas II for its Sovereign Lord. No one now believed that the war could be won on the eastern front, and the hopes of the chauvinists were centered on France and England who were to save the situation. But on the other hand, neither England nor France, especially the former, was liked by the man on the street who objected to the control these two countries were beginning to assume over the different departments of the War Office as well as in the General Staff. Altogether things were changed in Russia. Even in public places such as restaurants and theaters one could hear people talking about the necessity of concluding peace as soon as possible in order to prevent the catastrophe which was in the air and which was felt to be inevitable.

A peculiar thing in the whole situation was the excellent spirit of the army, at least among those soldiers back in Petrograd on a furlough from the front. Discouragement had not penetrated

there and the despondency of the officers was not shared by the men who, on the contrary, reproached their commanders for their lack of courage and initiative. The soldiers declared themselves ready to fight the hated Germans with the stocks of their rifles or their hands, if need be, and they refused to believe that they would not succeed in reducing their enemies even with these primitive weapons. Later on, and especially after the Carpathian campaign, this spirit underwent a complete transformation. It was the turn of the soldier to be discouraged, while the officers showed themselves far more plucky than during the dark days when Russia was startled by hearing that in a single week Warsaw as well as all the fortresses on the Vistula had fallen into the hands of the enemy.

While I am touching on this subject, it may be said at once, that the reason these strongholds were taken with such ease was that the Germans had friends among the authorities in charge of them who made but a formal resistance when they were besieged. Moreover, the German Staff had obtained complete plans of these fortifications from the German engineers who had been chosen to contruct them, thanks to the liberal sums which had been paid to several important

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Trotzky and the Bolshevik Leaders

officials in the Russian War Office to secure their choice. These gentlemen did what the Prussian Intelligence Department required of them to perfection. They devoted themselves to the construction of defense works which appeared to the layman quite wonderful but which were in reality absolutely unable to withstand any serious pressure put on them.

The state of absolute disorganization of the Russian war machine surpassed any expectations Captain Rustenberg had entertained on the subject. What struck him especially was that few persons in Petrograd gave any attention to the military question and that all their interest seemed to be concentrated on politics. The war, sad as it was, and disastrous as it had proved, did not seem to affect public opinion at all. It was accepted as a necessary evil out of which good might ensue, and, as a rule, there was a general admiration for German efficiency. Of course this was not said openly, but Captain Rustenberg fancied from observations he was able to make that there were more people who desired to see the war end with the conclusion of a treaty of alliance with Germany than he could ever have hoped for at such a time in Russia.

The captain went to see all his old acquaint-

ances. At the International Bank, he was asked quantities of questions about the state of opinion in neutral countries, and the directors of the bank all seemed to want the war to come to an end, no matter how or through what circumstances. Most of the shares of this bank were in German hands, as the house of Mendelssohn and Company and the Disconto Gesellschaft of Berlin had succeeded in buying them previous to the breaking out of the war. Naturally enough this circumstance had a good deal to do with the opinions of the men in charge of this financial establishment. People believed that Captain Rustenberg was a peaceful Swiss citizen who had come to Russia to seek business and try to capture for his firm some of the trade which had been in German hands before the war. It seems that he played his part well for no one suspected him, and he was able to tell the German agents whom he met later on that he believed that nothing in his conduct or demeanor had given rise to suspicion.

Captain Rustenberg made it a point to interview several of the German Secret Service representatives who had managed to stay in Petrograd in spite of the severe application of the law which drove away not only Germans but those in sym-

pathy with them. One evening he was taken to a party given at the house of a journalist belonging to the extreme radical groups, and there to his surprise and dismay, because he would have liked to avoid him, he saw Kerensky again. The young demagogue must have recognized the captain perfectly, but he made no sign that this was the case, and on the contrary tried to draw him into a conversation in which he endeavored to find out whether a change of government in Russia would be viewed with pleasure or disapproval in Germany. Of course the captain gave him no reply and merely said that being a foreigner and having spent only a couple of days in Berlin on his way to Petrograd he had not had time to form an opinion on this subject.

A day or two after the captain reached Petrograd he was taken by one of his friends to the house of a lady who seemed to be wonderfully well informed as to everything that went on in official circles in Russia and who was also in touch with the extreme radical leaders in the Duma. Her name was Madame Soumentay and she was supposed to be a Finn by birth and marriage and a rabid anti-German. She received the captain kindly and made no secret of the fact that she knew perfectly well who he was and why he

had come to Russia and that she herself was in the employ of the same people in whose service he was enrolled. Among other things she told him that she did not at all share the opinion of those who thought that a separate peace was about to be made between Germany and Russia. She assured him that, on the contrary, so long as the Czar remained on the throne the thing was unlikely in spite of the strong pressure brought to bear on him by the Empress and the latter's particular friends and favorites. She declared that Nicholas II was such a coward that he could even be induced to betray his friends out of reasons of personal safety and that he lacked the initiative to make any decision of importance of his own accord. But, she added, the fact that he had been persuaded to assume supreme command of the army was of more advantage to Germany than the latter imagined. It would put the crowning seal on the Czar's unpopularity and make a revolution far easier than would have been the case had he remained at Tzarskoié Sélo and been able to shift on to others the responsibility for the disasters about to follow. The captain and Mme. Soumentay talked about the trial of poor Colonel Massojedoff who had been hung a few weeks before. She assured the captain

that all the rumors current about town concerning the complicity of the War Minister General Soukhomlinoff and his consort with Massojedoff had been started by friends of the Grand Duke Nicholas who wanted to place the responsibility for the disasters that had taken place on some one other than their beloved chief. She need not have told the captain this for he knew the circumstances far better than she could, but it was interesting nevertheless to hear all these details. Mme. Soumentay was a clever and well informed woman and she assured the captain that the best friends of Germany in the case of an emergency would be the extreme radicals and anarchists. They were so desirous of getting into power and being allowed a free hand in the execution of the program they had mapped out for themselves — the principal item was the destruction of private property and a general plundering of the richer class — that they would be ready to conclude an alliance with the first person capable of helping them to bring it into execution regardless of circumstances. "You know," she added significantly, "that they are bound to come into power as soon as the Romanoffs are overthrown."

The captain was not quite so sure about this, so he changed the conversation and asked Mme.

Soumentay to tell him who the journalists were who were most likely to accept the mission of preaching cleverly the necessity of putting an end to the war. She mentioned a few names and advised him to get an introduction to M. Propper, the owner of the *Gazette de la Bourse,* and to try to ascertain his views on the matter. When he mentioned the *Rousskoié Slowo,* she at once told him that she considered that there was nothing to be done in that quarter and this notwithstanding the fact that one of Germany's agents in Petrograd had assured him that he would be likely to find some coöperation on the part of that particular paper; that one of its editors, whose name, however, he had not disclosed, was quite ready to lend Germany the use of his pen and of his eloquence, if he had any to spare, against a handsome consideration.

Captain Rustenberg did not know what to make out of all this information, but as he had always made it a rule to see things for himself, he got a friend to take him to M. Propper's house. The journalist received them with effusion, saying that any foreigner coming to Petrograd was welcome to his hospitality, and placed himself entirely at the captain's disposal in regard to any information he might want to obtain concerning the com-

mercial business which had brought him to Russia.

M. Propper was a funny, amusing individual. He called himself a Pole, and his house was the meeting place of all the Poles in the capital. In reality there was a strong mixture of Hebrew blood in his veins, but he was so rich that people had forgotten that fact and there was nothing to remind the world of it except his flat feet and his, if not exactly crooked, at least very prominent, nose. He was a power in his way, thanks to the influence wielded by his paper, and he was perfectly well aware of the fact. But he never boasted of it, and while he was in reality an opponent of the Romanoffs he declared himself their staunch supporter. He was not precisely the man described by Montaigne as *ondoyant et divers,* but he was certainly an opportunist, and so he might easily become one of Germany's friends outwardly as much as he was inwardly. His ambition was excessive, and after talking with him for a time the captain understood easily why his Chief had told him that it would be a good plan to suggest to M. Propper that he would make an excellent ambassador. The journalist invited the captain to dinner for the next day and promised to try and get a few pleasant people to meet him, an invitation which was accepted with alacrity.

CHAPTER XIV

M. KALYSCHKOFF GOES TO STOCKHOLM

As one may imagine the captain made it a point not to be late to dinner the next evening and he was one of the first to appear at the hospitable mansion which owned M. Propper for its master. The captain was introduced to his host's wife and daughter, and soon discovered that the small and informal party to which he had been invited was a large and pompous affair of thirty-five or forty people who belonged to different political parties and most of whom were interesting in their way. There were members of the Duma, which was not sitting at the time, a few landowners from the Southern governments, four or five exquisitely dressed ladies, one of whom was a celebrated actress, and a score of journalists with whom the captain at once tried to establish a conversation in the hope of hearing what they thought about the general situation. He had expected to find among them violent chau-

vinists, but he soon discovered that chauvinism in Russia existed only in the columns of the *Nowoié Wrémia,* and that it was conspicuously absent elsewhere. The conversation was about social and political reforms, and everyone seemed agreed that in some respects it was an excellent thing that the Germans had beaten the Russians, because it would compel the government to grant the reforms for which the country clamored and to which it would never have given its assent under different circumstances. One man went so far as to say that the greatest disaster which could have befallen Russia would have been a military victory which would only have strengthened the hands of the detestable autocratic system under which the country writhed and plunged it back into a chaos that might have lasted for years and years.

As for the hatred of the Germans, at least so Captain Rustenberg was told, it only existed among the lower classes who had been artificially excited by an inspired press, but that among the Intelligentsia, as it was called, and among the nobility and landed aristocracy, the people were but too ready to accept any kind of peace, provided it came quickly.

Among the guests was one man who remained

silent most of the time, but who seemed to be listening carefully to everything that was being said. After dinner he asked to be introduced to Captain Rustenberg who found that he was a writer named Kalyschkoff on the staff of that same *Rousskoié Slowo,* the importance of whose co-operation had been pointed out to him with such emphasis in Berlin. The captain at once proceeded to draw the journalist out in regard to his opinions concerning the war, and found that he was far more optimistic than most of the other guests. Among other things he said that though the loss of Poland and a part of Lithuania was a sad affair, still he did not think it so disastrous as many thought, because, after all, autonomy would have had to be granted sooner or later. Besides, he felt sure that Germany was far too wise to annex them, but would most probably try to make them buffer states between Russia and herself, and that there was no reason why Russia should not retain a sort of protectorate over the two provinces. He believed that in case of an eventual discussion of peace terms, Germany would show herself generous and would not insist on conditions likely to keep up feelings of hatred against her in Russia.

" People here forget," he added, " that the one

mortal enemy of Germany is France, and that in order to reduce her Germany will do all that lies within her power to try and make friends out of the other foes she is fighting to-day. I personally feel convinced that in the space of a few years, we Russians will again be close friends with Germany. We have too many interests in common for this not to happen sooner or later, and rather sooner than later. The great thing would be to accustom the public to the idea, and this can only take place through an intelligent press."

Kalyschkoff looked at the captain as he said this, and the latter fancied that there was something behind the words which the speaker wished him to understand. The captain, however, did not feel justified in accepting the discussion which it seemed that M. Kalyschkoff wanted to provoke and so he merely said that of course it was impossible for a foreigner to judge of such things, especially for one like himself who had never given his attention to politics. The journalist again looked at him with great attention and replied that he hoped that before the visitor left Russia he would become imbued with the general affection for politics which prevailed in that country. He also hoped that he would discover the great attractions that politics presented, especially

in a land standing on the verge of the important changes which threatened the Empire of the Czars, which, as he added significantly, would not remain a monarchy much longer.

"Then you believe in a revolution?" asked the captain.

"Certainly I do," Kalyschkoff replied. "And if Germany were wise she would prepare herself for that day so as to be ready on the field when it dawns. Without a revolution peace, in spite of the strong desire for it which prevails everywhere, cannot become an accomplished fact. Peace will be imposed finally by the working classes on the government of the day, whatever that government may be."

M. Propper interrupted this conversation by coming up to inquire whether his guests would not have another glass of rare Tokay on which he prided himself, but, as Captain Rustenberg went home, he could not help thinking about this talk and wondering what it meant. It seemed impossible that M. Kalyschkoff had discovered his identity unless his attention had been drawn to it, and, if such had been the case, the sooner the captain made himself scarce the better it would be. At that time Petrograd was swarming

with spies, and a German agent would have fared badly at their hands.

As the captain opened the door of his room in the hotel, he was wondering whether he should not pack his trunk and his nerves were so unstrung that he started violently when he found a man in his room sitting at the writing table apparently absorbed in reading some papers he had spread out before him. The captain's fright was soon allayed when he discovered in this unexpected visitor one of Germany's most trusted agents from whom he had obtained some of the most important information he had been able to gather since his arrival in Petrograd. The agent's first question startled the captain almost as much as his presence in possession of his apartment had done.

"Well," he said, "have you seen Kalyschkoff?"

"How did you know I was to see him?"

"Oh, we know these things," answered the agent. "The fact is that all along I have been wanting you to meet this man. Headquarters told me particularly to bring you together."

"Oh, is that so? Well, now that I have seen him, can you tell me what it is that I am to do with him?"

"It is very simple. Kalyschkoff has already been approached by a friend of Baron Lucius, our Minister in Stockholm, with whom he was on rather intimate terms while the latter was first secretary here, and he has been asked whether he would not lend us the help of his pen and his talent. You know he is one of the most brilliant essay writers in Petrograd. Kalyschkoff received these overtures very well and so he was given a hint to try and cultivate you if he came across you. I would like to know whether he has done so or not, and it is for this reason that I have been waiting for you for the past hour or so."

To tell the truth Captain Rustenberg found this conversation exceedingly unpleasant. He had the feeling that he had been fooled and thought himself badly used because his chiefs had not taken the trouble to initiate him into all the details of their multifarious intrigues in Russia. He did not like to find himself in a certain sense suspected and not left at liberty to do what he liked but compelled to follow the lead of another agent whom he had never suspected of being so far in possession of the confidence of Herr Steinwachs and the "Professor." It was obvious that it must have been one of the two who had

given the agent the instructions on which he was acting.

"What do you advise me to do?" Captain Rustenberg asked at length. "Remember that I know nothing concerning any use to which Kalyschkoff could be put."

The agent then informed the captain that the idea prevailed among the people in charge of the German interests in Petrograd to try and get control of some great newspaper in Russia; that the *Rousskoié Slowo* was considered the most influential, and M. Kalyschkoff was the man who could be induced to try and swerve the policy of that organ towards the idea of the conclusion of a separate peace between Russia and Germany.

All this seemed good, but the captain had doubts as to the ability of the above mentioned journalist to achieve such a result. But his visitor would not listen to any of the arguments he put forward and assured the captain that he was mistaken, because Baron von Lucius had guaranteed that Kalyschkoff was the only man among Russian newspaper men worthy of being trusted by Germany.

Captain Rustenberg had none too exalted an idea of the Baron's shrewdness of judgment, but

thought it wiser not to say so. He made up his mind, however, to try and ascertain from other sources at his disposal the real literary and political standing of M. Kalyschkoff. In the meantime he acquiesced in his colleague's proposition that he should again meet the journalist. So they made an appointment for the next day at the house of another German agent which was situated a little out of town on one of the islands which are a favorite summer resort for the inhabitants of Petrograd during the hot season.

Before Captain Rustenberg kept this appointment, he contrived to get a certain knowledge concerning M. Kalyschkoff, and found that though he was considered an able writer he was far from being on the staff of the *Rousskoié Slowo* to which he was not even regularly attached, but for which he wrote only occasionally; he was considered an ambitious man ready to take his bread from whatever source it could be buttered. This did not incline the captain in the journalist's favor and the barefaced way in which Kalyschkoff, no sooner had he met him for the second time, began himself to broach the subject of starting a pacifist campaign in the Russian press impressed him disagreeably. Had Captain Rustenberg been left to do as he liked, he certainly would not have

availed himself of Kalyschkoff's services. But he was not allowed to do what he liked. He had reported to his chief the tenor of his conversation with the Russian on the day following his introduction to him at M. Propper's house, and he promptly received a verbal order through a messenger sent to him from Berlin to bring M. Kalyschkoff to Stockholm. An official from the Foreign Office would interview the journalist there. Accordingly the captain asked Kalyschkoff whether he would object to a journey to Sweden, and he replied that nothing would please him better. The Russian suggested, however, that it would be unwise for them to travel together, a suggestion with which Captain Rustenberg agreed, because for personal reasons he would not have cared to be seen leaving Petrograd in the company of M. Kalyschkoff. On the other hand the captain wanted to get behind the protestations of friendship and good will for Germany which the journalist made and he reasoned that this would be easier during long hours spent together in the solitude of a railway compartment than elsewhere. So he proposed that he should leave Russia alone in the course of a few days and should wait for M. Kalyschkoff at the Swedish frontier where he would board the train. The arrange-

ment seemed to please Kalyschkoff and so after Captain Rustenberg had handed him a check for traveling expenses, they agreed to avoid each other during the time that they remained in Petrograd. They parted amicably with the hope of meeting each other again within a short time.

CHAPTER XV

THE GERMAN SECRET SERVICE IN STOCKHOLM

The supposition that M. Kalyschkoff would unbend during their long journey from Haparanda to Stockholm proved exact, for he and Captain Rustenberg became great friends during the hours when they had nothing to do except entertain each other. The captain had left Petrograd some three or four days before the Russian journalist, and, as they had previously arranged, he boarded the Russian train at the Swedish frontier. He found Kalyschkoff in an excellent temper and very anxious about what he might be able to arrange with the German Foreign Office. It did not take the captain long to discover that very probably Kalyschkoff would probably not be able to arrange anything at all, because his ideas and those which the captain knew were entertained in Berlin as to the Russian's eventual usefulness to Germany were widely different. M. Kalyschkoff was an ambitious man who for many years had nourished the dream of having a paper of his own. He imagined that he could take

the place which the *Nowoié Wrémia* and other papers of similar importance occupied in Russia. He hoped that he would be able to bring the German Secret Service to share his point of view on the subject and that something like two millions or thereabouts would be put at his disposal immediately. With this amount he could run his daily leaflet for some months at least and probably put a round sum of money in his pocket. Now Captain Rustenberg was aware that the reason his chiefs had selected M. Kalyschkoff from among so many other Russian journalists who would have been only too glad to avail themselves of the offers made to them was that they imagined that he controlled the *Rousskoié Slowo* to a certain extent. The chiefs had been given this entirely erroneous impression by Baron von Lucius. They were after the *Rousskoié Slowo* which they considered, and not without reason, the most influential and widely read organ in Russia. Neither the "Professor" nor Herr Steinwachs cared in the least for M. Kalyschkoff himself, nor would they have taken the trouble to seek him out for his intrinsic merits or value as a writer.

Of course Captain Rustenberg did not tell Kalyschkoff all this, for he thought it better for the

man to see things for himself so that afterwards he could not say that the captain had had anything to do with the inevitable disillusionment which awaited him. Captain Rustenberg applied himself to the task of finding out whether he was really such an exceedingly well informed man as he had been represented to be. In Russia so many people have long stories to tell that it is sometimes difficult to differentiate between the truth, bluff and gossip. The difficulty which people had in discussing openly certain subjects which the government had tabooed for some reason or other resulted in rumors everywhere, so that it was a common occurrence for people to come to the captain and relate a sensational yarn which was so exceedingly well presented and conceived that it bore the stamp of reality. People did nothing else but try to find something new to tell; nowhere in those days which are now past and gone were more persons to be found who seemed to make their whole aim in life and the sole business the discovery of an unknown piece of news than in Petrograd. Captain Rustenberg had no reason to suppose that M. Kalyschkoff was different from his compatriots in this respect, so he naturally listened with something

akin to suspicion to all he had to relate concerning the inner workings of home and foreign politics in Russia.

Nevertheless the captain came to the conclusion that if the journalist was not remarkably informed he at least did not belong to the tribe of individuals who invent stories for themselves when they have not been intrusted with a sensational one by some one else. He had no imagination, though he expected to become the publisher of a newspaper, and he would have been incapable of concocting any tale even if the complete annihilation of his enemies had depended on it. One could assume, therefore, that a certain amount of truth lay at the bottom of whatever information he was distributing. So when he said that it would be a relatively easy matter to change the current of public opinion in Russia, especially in Petrograd, and to make it lean towards the conclusion of a separate peace, later on to an economic and military alliance with Germany, provided one wanted to spend sufficient money on the enterprise, the captain was inclined to believe him.

In Stockholm the two separated. M. Kalyschkoff went to the Grand Hotel, while Captain Rustenberg directed his steps toward a more modest abode, known as the Hotel Anglais, where

comparatively speaking there were not so many spies as in the fashionable inn at which his traveling companion had reserved a room by telegraph. The next morning the two men met as if by chance in the park, and Kalyschkoff was taken to the dark side street where the German Intelligence Department had an office in the rooms occupied by a big shipping company from Stettin. This company had elected, for some reason no one except the German Secret Service could understand, to open this agency in Sweden during the war.

In this office the captain and the Russian journalist found Baron Oppel, one of the most trusted figures in the Secret Service who was in charge of the entire spy system organized in the Scandinavian countries and who had brought it to a high degree of perfection and efficiency. The Baron received his visitors in a friendly way and at once entered into conversation with M. Kalyschkoff trying to draw out his views and intentions. The latter did not seem to think it worth while to keep his questioner in suspense, for he at once unfolded his plan of action which resolved itself into a request to have two million rubles put at his disposal. With this sum he fully expected to be able to start a newspaper and also

with great chances of success the peace propaganda which, as he declared, he considered indispensable in order to save both Russia and Germany from the disasters which a continuation of the war would entail for them both — and he wanted to begin at once without a moment's delay. The Baron then mentioned the *Rousskoié Slowo* and inquired whether this paper could be induced to undertake the conduct of such a propaganda which, thanks to the influence it wielded, would have far more chances of proving successful than if started suddenly by a new organ which would at once be suspected of being a German mouthpiece. M. Kalyschkoff answered this remark, with a dignity that savored of the comic, that no one in the whole Russian Empire would for one moment harbor such a thought when it became known that HE was the editor of this enterprising young paper. He evidently entertained an immense idea of his own importance, which, I am sorry to say, was not shared by any one else, as Captain Rustenberg had had occasion to ascertain in Petrograd.

They talked, or rather M. Kalyschkoff talked, for more than an hour, but nothing was settled, and indeed nothing practical was suggested on either side. The captain noticed that the Baron

kept looking at the door as if he expected some one to join them and he wondered who that somebody might be. He did not remain long in doubt, for the door opened slowly and a man he recognized as a director of one of the departments of the German Foreign Office, Herr Doctor von Mayer, entered the room.

Herr von Mayer was one of those busybodies who are intensely disliked by all their co-workers and colleagues and extremely appreciated by their chiefs and superiors. He was a short slim individual with a small yellow untrimmed beard, spectacles which somehow always were dropping down his nose which was not large enough to lend them support, and small well shod feet upon which he looked from time to time with great complacency. Herr Doctor von Mayer had a high opinion of his own faculties and intelligence, but in an entirely different manner from M. Kalyschkoff, inasmuch as he had sufficient tact to know when to air it and when to refrain from doing so at times when it might be inconvenient. Captain Rustenberg had always considered him a muddler, but, on the contrary, both Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg and Foreign Secretary von Jagow were deeply impressed by the intellectual faculties of Doctor

von Mayer and often employed him upon confidential and delicate missions connected with the activities of the Secret Service.

The doctor came in wiping his spectacles, and after he had been introduced to M. Kalyschkoff he at once entered into the subject which had brought them both to Sweden. The Russian unfolded his program once more, and as he spoke one could see the face of Doctor von Mayer take on more and more an expression of amazement. At last he could hold in no longer and exclaimed with just a touch of impatience in his accent:

"All this is very well, M. Kalyschkoff, but it is not what we require nor what we had hoped you could do for us. We had thought that you would be able to secure for us the sympathies of the *Rousskoié Slowo,* and we were ready to be extremely generous in order to obtain them. But I think that I can venture to say that my chiefs had never considered the question of starting an entirely new paper which, especially at present during the war, it would be very difficult, not to say impossible, to transform into an influential organ of any political party. The *Slowo* has an enormous number of readers ready to adopt its ideas and opinions, and anything it prints obtains consideration at least, even if it

fails to convince people. Can you not induce the *Slowo* to enter into your views, M. Kalyschkoff?"

Doctor von Mayer looked anxiously at the Russian journalist, but the latter did not respond. He was crushed by a feeling of intense disappointment, and probably was asking himself why he had been such a fool as to come all the way to Sweden in order to be asked to put money into other people's pockets. Doctor von Mayer went on:

"You see, my dear M. Kalyschkoff, I was sent here with a distinct mission — that of acquiring through you the control of the *Rousskoié Slowo*. Once you say that you cannot help us in that respect, I shall have to report to my chiefs the new offer which you have just made, and as soon as I hear from them I will let you know the result. In the meantime I do not think there is any necessity for you to remain in Stockholm. We can always reach you when we like, and very probably we shall soon require your presence here again. You must not imagine that we do not appreciate your offer, and personally I would be ready to accept it, but you know, my dear sir, what it is to be bound by precise instructions, and much as I would like to, I cannot exceed

those I have received. Will you meanwhile show me your bill and I will write out a check for you?"

Kalyschkoff looked absolutely disgusted.

"I have not been here long enough to run up a bill," he said. "But there are my railway tickets and, and . . . my time."

"Oh, my dear sir, I feel sure you will be glad to have spent it for the good of your country!" exclaimed Herr von Mayer. "One cannot set any value on your time; it is too precious for that, and we must pass it over. But your expenses, your expenses, surely you will allow us to pay them. Let me see, will one thousand marks do, with the tickets of course?"

Kalyschkoff looked more and more disgusted, while Captain Rustenberg was chuckling inwardly at this exhibition of economy on the part of the doctor who remained faithful to the German principle that one must pay only for value received. As he found that no one replied, he drew a check book from his pocket, filled out one of the leaves with his fountain pen and handed it politely to the Russian with the remark:

"This is only for your expenses, not for any services you have rendered us. These would be invaluable, and we shall avail ourselves of them yet. I assure you that we shall."

As it happened he did, but about this I shall write later. So the first attempt of the German Secret Service to corrupt a Russian journalist fell through, and poor M. Kalyschkoff returned to Petrograd not perhaps a wiser, but certainly a more disconsolate and disillusioned man than when he left it.

CHAPTER XVI

CAPTAIN RUSTENBERG IS SENT TO SWITZERLAND

On the evening of the day of the interview between Doctor von Mayer and M. Kalyschkoff, the former held a conference with Captain Rustenberg and Baron Oppel. The captain then heard for the first time that it was the intention of the German government to spend millions if need be to secure a separate peace with Russia, which would free the army and allow it to be hurled against the western front. He was also told that in order to reach this much desired end, it had been decided to engage simultaneously in negotiations with men able to influence not only public opinion but also the government in Russia. The German government was prepared as well to negotiate with the leaders of the anarchist parties so as to be able, if necessary, to help the latter to seize the supreme power in the country, even if this meant the overthrow of the Romanoff dynasty. The captain was ad-

vised that Lenine, or Ioulianoff, had already been approached and that he had promised his coöperation should his services be required in earnest. And he was also given the names of certain persons, who, in case of emergency, would be the go-betweens to engage in serious discussions with either side which would serve Germany best when things had ripened sufficiently for that.

Most of these go-betweens were residing in Sweden at the time and were employed in the hard task of earning money at the expense of the Allies. One of them was a Jew named Maliniak who had been condemned to some years, or months, I don't remember which, in prison in Russia, but had contrived to get himself appointed purveyor of the Russian Red Cross in Stockholm where he was looked upon as one of the new millionaires whom the war had helped to spring into existence. He was on excellent terms with the Russian Minister, M. Neklioudoff, to whom he had sold a beautiful motor car at a reasonable price. Maliniak was fast adding to the already large number of jewels which his wife liked to sport upon every possible or impossible occasion. He pretended to be a ferocious anti-German, but all along he was doing business with German firms, and in addition to his other qualities, he

had suddenly developed an ambition to play a rôle in politics, and, thanks to his talents, bring about the reëstablishment of world peace. He had friends without number in the Hebrew community in Petrograd and other towns in Russia, and through them he was kept well informed of all that was going on in the country. Doctor von Mayer felt sure that when required Maliniak would be able to bring him into relations with some member or other of the Czar's government. Herr von Mayer told the captain, although the latter had not noticed it when in Petrograd, that Germany had influential friends in Russian Court circles, who, though pro-Ally, would like to see an honorable peace concluded as they feared that the dynasty would not be able to stand the strain of a long war and might collapse under it. These people were distinct from the avowed pro-Germans including the Czarina and her favorite Rasputine, who was still alive, but they worked for the same ends although with different motives.

When Captain Rustenberg heard all this, he regretted that when in Petrograd he had confined his activities to observing what went on in advanced radical and anarchist circles and had devoted no time to the sayings and doings of the upper classes. At this period people were talking

of an intended visit of members of the Duma to England where they were to be the guests of the House of Commons. Berlin knew all about this, and Herr Steinwachs had given special instructions to his Stockholm office at least to make an attempt to get in contact with some of the deputies in the delegation during their stay in Sweden, on their way back to Russia. He was anxious to learn their impressions and whether their trip had weakened or strengthened the ties which bound their country to Great Britain. Captain Rustenberg was not in accord with his chief on the advisability of this step, as he feared that it would be impossible to prevent the Allies hearing of it and that in the long run it could lead to nothing. Any member of the Duma convicted of having had intercourse with Germany or having spoken with Germans would simply be arrested for treason on his return to Russia. Nothing practical could come out of such an interview.

The idea of getting in touch with the leaders of the Russian anarchist circles abroad appealed to the captain's imagination a great deal more, always provided the German government would risk being caught fomenting a revolution in the realm of the Czar. It would be an expensive

affair and dangerous. However this was none of his business, and Germany was rich enough to try the experiment.

M. Kalyschkoff's conduct was discussed at the conference, and Baron Oppel did not think it wise to discourage him altogether. Of course his idea of giving him a couple of millions to bring, or not to bring, out a daily paper was preposterous and could not be entertained for a moment. But they might let him hope that it was feasible, so as to keep him in constant anxiety and increase his desire to serve Germany. He could do this not so much as a newspaper man but as a reporter of what took place in Petrograd where he undoubtedly had excellent means of getting himself well informed as to what was going on in administrative and social circles, and also of ascertaining the fluctuations of public opinion.

The Baron suggested to Doctor von Mayer that he ought to see Kalyschkoff at once before he had time to leave and give him some sort of encouragement to remain faithful to Germany. Captain Rustenberg did not believe for a moment that the Russian press could be controlled in any way, so long as the war lasted, for the simple reason that the press was entirely in the hands of the government and it could only print what

it was allowed to. But he was sure that it would be useful for Germany to try and acquire friends among Russian journalists and that M. Kalyschkoff could render some services in pointing out the men most likely to accept German advances.

Doctor von Mayer seemed to agree with this, though he said he had no authorization to decide such important matters of his own accord, and that in any case he must refer to the Foreign Office which would advise the Secret Service and give it a copy of his report. Captain Rustenberg wondered secretly how it had happened that the doctor had been sent to Stockholm to interview Kalyschkoff when it would have been relatively easy to entrust the mission to Baron Oppel. Later on he heard that there had been furious discussions on the subject between Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg and the " Professor " and that the Chancellor had protested against the authoritative tone assumed by the Staff backed by the Intelligence Department in regard to what one would call the undercurrents and secret diplomacy of the war. Finally the Staff had yielded and declared itself ready to allow the Foreign Office to see what it could do in winning the aid of some at least of Germany's opponents with the help of excellent German or foreign banknotes.

Captain Rustenberg was told further that this concession had been made because the military party wanted to prove that the civilian element could not do the work, and had wanted to have another brilliant illustration of the stupidity of German diplomacy of which to make capital.

The captain was making preparations to return to Germany when, much to his surprise, he received orders not to come to Berlin but to proceed through Dresden and Munich to Switzerland where he was to see the now famous Lenine, alias Ioulianoff, and hold several conferences with him and his associates. Of course there was nothing to do but obey, and so Captain Rustenberg started, but he did not quite conform to the instructions for he did take in Berlin on the way. First, it was a more direct route to Basle, his first stopping place, and he wanted supplementary information which he thought the "Professor" would be able to give him. He saw his chief the day of his return and the two frankly discussed the whole Russian situation. Captain Rustenberg did not conceal his belief that the country was crumbling under the burden of war and that it was far heavier than it could bear. The question of the conclusion of a separate peace independent of anything the Allies might say or of any pressure

they might bring was in his opinion merely a question of time. What was far more interesting was the question with whom Germany would eventually conclude this separate peace. Would it be with the Czar or with a radical, not to say an anarchist, government? A really democratic government such as a Cadet administration would never be induced to subscribe to such a peace.

The "Professor," when these facts were exposed to him, did not seem to hesitate, but promptly replied that of course he agreed; that he had more faith in the Russian radicals than in the Czar, who, as he believed, could not be brought to break faith with the Allies, especially with his cousin King George with whom he had been on intimate terms ever since the days of their common boyhood.

"Nicholas II is sentimental," he added. "And it is impossible to discuss politics with a sentimental man. A revolution would be of more use to us in Russia than winning three battles. Therefore we must strive towards the breaking out of one and for this reason we must put at the disposal of the Russian anarchists abroad all the money they need to bring it about. You must please remember this when you talk with these gentlemen. Offer it to them for their propa-

ganda, and look through your fingers when you see that they want it only for themselves. The larger the contributions you make them, the more chances you will have that they will become so accustomed to handling large sums that they will be ready to resort to any means, legal or not, in order to retain it. Keep this fact in mind and act accordingly," added the "Professor." So on this occasion as well as on many others the "Professor" proved himself a profound student of human nature. He knew that most men have their price and that the only important question is whether one can afford to pay it or not. Captain Rustenberg felt sure that in the case of Lenine the German Treasury would be able to meet his exigencies.

The captain left Berlin the next morning for Basle where he stopped at the "Three Kings," registering of course under an assumed name. The German secret agents had obviously been advised of his coming, for he had hardly brushed the dust off his clothes before going down to dinner than there came a knock at the door. When he answered, he recognized no less a personage than Mr. Barker whom he had believed somewhere in America and had never suspected of enjoying himself in Switzerland.

CHAPTER XVII

LENINE AND HIS FRIENDS

Although Mr. Barker was the last bird in the air and fish in the sea that Captain Rustenberg had expected to meet, he was unfeignedly glad to see him appear. For one thing Barker's presence would relieve him from a stupendous responsibility, and for another with him at his side he would not be worried by business arrangements which he understood but too well would have to be taken before they left Switzerland in connection with Mr. Lenine, or Mr. Ioulianoff, to give him the two names under which he was known alternately. In money matters Mr. Barker had far more liberty than had been awarded to Captain Rustenberg and his credit stood far higher than the latter's in the different banks with which both had to deal. Moreover Barker was as much thought of in the German Foreign Office as in the Intelligence Department, which was more than Captain Rustenberg could say, for he knew that he was the object of the special abomination of

Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg who had complained several times of his independence of character. And the negotiations which were about to begin were as much diplomatic as military, if we take the latter term to mean carrying the war into the territory of the enemy.

Mr. Barker informed his colleague that he had been staying in Zurich for the past three weeks, but that he had been unable to meet Lenine, who, for some reason or other best known to himself, avoided making new acquaintances. He was, it seems, busy receiving people who came to him from various parts of the world and he was certainly engaged in some enterprise or other of an important nature. But in spite of Barker's efforts to get in touch with him or acquire some inkling as to what he was about, he had failed to do so. He hoped, therefore, that Captain Rustenberg would be able to achieve what he himself had not been able to do and to obtain an interview from Lenine on the grounds of their previous acquaintance just before the war.

Mr. Barker also informed the captain that they had to be extremely careful in everything they did, because the secret service of the Allies was exercising a sharp and constant control over the actions of every foreigner in Switzerland and that

the Russian anarchists in particular were watched with unusual care.

"It seems that they guess the part the anarchists might play in the event of peace negotiations with Russia," he said. "You'd better keep up the story that you are a Polish anarchist, so I should advise you to register under the same name you bore in Paris at the hotel in Zurich. I have brought the necessary Russian passport you will be called on to produce. As you will observe, this passport bears the date of to-day as the one on which you crossed the frontier. I would suggest that you leave Basle early to-morrow morning by the train corresponding to the one which ought to have brought you to Zurich had you really used this passport. And I would further recommend you to board this train at some station further north and to arrange for some person or other to be able to confirm the fact that you passed through this place in an express train coming from France. As for myself you will always find me at Interlaken should you require me and a wire will bring me to any place in which you think we may meet without arousing suspicion."

The captain acted on this advice and the next evening found him at Zurich. Thanks to Mr. Barker he knew where he could find Lenine, and

he sent him a line reminding him of their former interviews and asked when it would be convenient for them to meet. The captain had not long to wait for a reply, for hardly an hour had elapsed after the special messenger had been dispatched before Lenine himself walked into the room.

Lenine had changed a good deal since their last meeting and had aged considerably. His long beard was heavily streaked with gray, but the eyes retained their bright, almost too bright, expression. He appeared to be in excellent humor and at once asked for news of "our friends in Petrograd," appearing extremely interested in everything the captain had to relate about his last journey to Russia. His one fear seemed to be the release of the famous Bourtzeff, whom he considered the most dangerous enemy the anarchists had. He acknowledged that when the former nihilist decided to return to his native land and offered his services, that he, Lenine, had caused secret information to be conveyed to the government of the Czar concerning that same Bourtzeff. This had resulted in the nihilist being arrested at the frontier and conveyed to the fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul in Petrograd. When the captain inquired the reason for this animosity towards a man who was so highly respected in radical cir-

cles for the magnificent manner in which he had unmasked the notorious Aseff, Lenine replied that Bourtzeff knew too much and was a man who could not be trusted by the extremists because he was apt to develop scruples at the wrong moment. And he added significantly, " Scruples are things which we ought to forget as soon as possible in the present crisis."

They then proceeded to discuss the prospects of the revolutionary parties in Russia. Lenine owned frankly that there was risk of these parties being seriously compromised by the lack of money. This interfered with the propaganda he considered ought to be carried on among the workmen and especially among the munition makers in Petrograd. He relied on these workers to bring about the reforms he intended to make as soon as events put him in power. The principal one of these reforms was the distribution of the land among the peasants and of the money belonging to banks and private capitalists among the proletariat.

" This is the only program which will be acceptable to my party," he declared, " and the sooner it is put into execution the better it will be for the Russian people and even for the people who will be compelled to disgorge their wealth, because at

the present day they will only be *asked* to give up their money; later on they might be *required* to do so, and, if need be, forced to the sacrifice under threat of being killed or put out of the way in some manner or other. The Russian nation has been oppressed for too long a time; it must assert itself, and," he added significantly, "you know what it means when a whole nation asserts itself."

"When I saw you in Paris," Captain Rustenberg remarked, "I thought you said that you had been promised money by the German socialists."

Lenine burst out in a rage.

"Yes, they promised me money!" he exclaimed. "But they failed to redeem their promises, and so far I have received nothing. How can we proceed without funds? Oh, if only I could lay my hands on those who have so basely deceived me, they would hear a piece of my mind!"

Captain Rustenberg then proceeded to explain that he had recently seen in Basle one of the leaders of the socialist party in Bavaria who could dispose of large sums and who would be willing to put a considerable amount at the disposal of the Russian revolutionists. This man would probably impose conditions in regard to his support with which Lenine was already acquainted, as he knew

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Trotzky leaving Bolshevik Headquarters

that Lenine had been in negotiations with his Germen brethren before the war. Lenine did not deny the fact, but added that these negotiations had come to nothing because they would not leave him free to apply the methods he considered most suitable for the triumph of the general anarchy which he was trying to bring about in the whole world. He had a broad program and he would have liked to have begun its execution simultaneously in Germany and Russia, but the Teuton revolutionists had objected.

"They are poor creatures after all," Lenine remarked. "They put their Fatherland before their party and before the sacred cause of a general revolution and upheaval of the present social order. But I see to-day that I was wrong to rebuke them; I ought to have availed myself of the help which was extended to me and trusted more to the future. Our ideas spread like lightning and as soon as we have succeeded in imposing them in one country, they will surely and rapidly invade all others. I see it now and, believe me, if the offers I received three years ago were made to me again, I should accept them without hesitation."

After this the rest was comparatively easy, and Captain Rustenberg soon came to terms with the

Russian agitator. Mr. Barker was introduced as an American I. W. W. and as such immediately secured the warm sympathies of Lenine. A plan of action was quickly drawn up, which was to be put in action within a short time and as soon as it had been ascertained without a doubt that a change of government in Russia could take place without arousing any opposition among the people. Lenine seemed wonderfully well informed in regard to the spirit of the Russian anarchists and declared that the most dangerous moment for them would be during the explosion of this selfsame revolution the possibilities of which they were discussing. He believed that the first government to take up the inheritance of the Romanoffs would be one in which the Cadet or Democratic element would be in a majority. This party, of course, was not at all favorable to the program dear to Lenine and his supporters. Therefore it would have to be overthrown, and large sums of money would be necessary. Mr. Barker agreed to this and it was settled that he was to remain in close touch with Lenine and his friends in Petrograd. When Lenine was asked who these friends were, he mentioned a certain Antonoff, a lawyer called Kozlovsky and, to Captain Rustenberg's intense sur-

prise, Madame Soumentay and Adolph Joffe. He recommended the last as one of his most trusted lieutenants on whom he could absolutely depend and rely.

It was settled further that as soon as his presence in Russia was required and considered advisable, Lenine himself was to receive a safe conduct from the German government allowing him to travel to Petrograd through German territory and money to permit him to make the journey. Mr. Barker accepted all the conditions and the captain could not help wondering as he listened to this bargaining who was deceiving the other. Certainly Lenine never meant to become the tool of the German Intelligence Department, which he had surely realized by this time was the real institution with which he was negotiating. Most undoubtedly Mr. Barker did not mean to promise the German government's money with the sole aim of fomenting a general revolution of the world in which Germany would participate perforce. Neither of the two could be the other's dupe; it remained to be seen who would get the better of the dirty bargain which both seemed so delighted to have the opportunity of making.

As Mr. Barker took leave of Lenine with the

understanding that they were to meet again on the next day, the anarchist suddenly stopped the German agent.

"All this is very well," he said, "but before we proceed any further I must warn you that I have a friend and companion without whom I can decide nothing and whom I must consult. He is at present in America, and you must find means for me to communicate with him. Perhaps you have heard his name; it is Leon Trotzky."

Neither Barker nor his colleague made a sign that would have betrayed them, but they looked at each other significantly. Leon Trotzky was considered by the German Intelligence Department one of its most useful and cunning, though trusted, agents. To find him in collusion with Lenine was certainly a revelation.

When Lenine passed through Sweden on his way to Russia immediately after the Revolution, in response to the call of the German government, I happened to meet him at the home of a Russian who had made his home in Stockholm since the beginning of the war. My host was not a Bolshevik himself, but he was in close relations with the leaders of that movement and with the revolutionary parties in Russia in general. Lenine

was looking forward to his return with considerable impatience, and he related to us the substance of the conversation which I have just reproduced in almost the same terms in which Captain Rustenberg had communicated it to me. Lenine never made a secret of the fact that he had been encouraged by the German government in his anarchistic designs on Russia and spoke openly of the financial help the Germans had given him and without which he would have been unable to undertake the long journey from Zurich to Petrograd. Lenine was still a poor man, though there is reason to believe that that is not the case to-day. He frankly owned that he had applied to the German Legation in Switzerland for funds, which were immediately handed to him. One of the persons in the room during our conversation asked Lenine whether he was not ashamed to accept money from the enemies of his country. The anarchist answered this remark by saying that he did not feel ashamed because now that socialism was to become supreme the barriers which divide one nation from another would fall and that all humanity would become united in the supreme attempt to deliver the world from the trammels of superstition and autocracy and to establish the rule of the people in every country. For his part

he was willing to accept the help of anybody who would aid him, no matter to what race he belonged. Then some one ventured the remark that one could not really consider the Germans civilized beings in view of the havoc and destruction of which they had been guilty. As a proof he mentioned the destruction of Rheims Cathedral. Lenine looked at him for a moment and then replied with an accent which I shall never be able to forget:

"Rheims Cathedral was but a monument of the times when the poor were oppressed by the rich, and when we look upon it from that point of view the Germans were quite right to shell and destroy it."

And this is the man who as this is written is supposed to control the destinies of Russia. Verily the German government knew what it was doing on the day when it contrived to secure his help in its designs against the great country it meant to appropriate for its own use and purposes.

CHAPTER XVIII

CAPTAIN RUSTENBERG IS SENT TO AMERICA

After his conference with Lenine, Captain Rustenberg returned to Berlin and reported to his chiefs all the details of the transaction. The "Professor" at once told him that he would require him to go to the United States and interview Trotzky. The captain was to a certain extent surprised to find Trotzky so closely connected with Lenine, and especially at the fact that Lenine had never mentioned the circumstance to him. As I have already said, Trotzky had been working for the Germans for years. He was considered a most useful and indeed invaluable agent, but some of the chiefs in the Secret Service, including the "Professor," never trusted him and for a long time had suspected him of playing a double game. He evidently, and this now became quite clear, had been trying to use Germany in order to obtain the money necessary for schemes of his own which might or might not be in accord with German interests. The captain wondered whether he had

ever confided to Lenine his connection with the German Intelligence Department. Mr. Barker did not think that this could have been the case and the captain shared this opinion; they both believed that the two anarchists had secrets from each other and might, therefore, at a certain moment be induced to act separately from one another. This fact was to be taken into consideration, for in the case of Germany really fomenting a revolution or rebellion against the Czar, it would be to her advantage to have the leaders spying upon each other and thus furnishing Germany with precious indications as to what was really going on in Russian anarchist circles, which in spite of her efforts had always remained a mystery to her. It was decided with the " Professor " that a careful watch should be kept on the relations between Lenine and Trotzky, but that neither of them should be allowed to discover that this was the case.

Captain Rustenberg felt no great enthusiasm for the proposed trip to America. Germany's relations with the United States government were already strained to the utmost by the *Lusitania* affair, and there was reason to fear that a strict control of foreigners already existed in the land of Uncle Sam. It would not do for a Dane —

Captain Rustenberg was to travel under a Danish passport — to be caught in any intercourse with Russian anarchists, and yet it was among Russian anarchists that the captain's steps were bound to carry him if he wished to find an opportunity of transmitting to Mr. Trotzky, or rather to Mr. Braunstein, the messages with which Lenine had entrusted him.

The captain had suggested that he be sent to New York with a Russian passport, in which he should be described as a Russian Jew, but his chiefs did not accept the idea as they did not think he could be taken for one by any means, as his type was essentially that of an inhabitant of the northern countries of Europe. This fact would only arouse suspicion about the reasons which had induced him to cross the ocean at a time when the enterprise was anything but a pleasure. The captain had to acknowledge that their reasoning was correct and accept the inevitable. So one fine summer morning in the year 1916 he boarded the Danish steamer *Frederick VIII,* which later on became historic by carrying back to Europe Count Bernstorff after the rupture of relations between the United States and Germany, and started his journey to New York. The passage was quiet and uneventful, without the shadow of a subma-

rine. Of course the captain kept much to himself and avoided the other passengers, giving sea sickness as an excuse for remaining secluded in his cabin. The ship was subjected to a polite but thorough examination in Halifax by the English authorities, but nothing suspicious was discovered and the ship was allowed to proceed unmolested.

Captain Rustenberg went to the Waldorf-Astoria in New York with the idea that the best thing for him to do was to act as though he had no reason to hide from the eyes of the world, or rather from the American police. He was very careful with regard to his movements for a few days so as to ascertain whether he was watched or not, and at last when he felt that he was sufficiently at home in the great city to be able to move about freely, he started on a voyage of discovery in the East Side to find Leon Trotzky.

The captain found him in the offices of a small Jewish paper, where he was employed as a reporter, and made himself known to him, not by his own name, of course, but by the name of one of the German agents with whom Trotzky had been in relations in Berlin. Trotzky at first seemed suspicious, and it was only after the captain had mentioned Lenine and had delivered the messages entrusted to him, that the Jewish journalist unbent

and became confidential to the extent of saying that Ioulianoff, as he always called Lenine, was far too much of an idealist, a fact which could hardly have been reconciled with some of the statements the same Ioulianoff had made to the captain. Trotzky also said that the coming Russian Revolution, about which he spoke with absolute certainty, could only succeed, if it were handled without gloves and if the people made up their minds to destroy all who tried to oppose them.

Captain Rustenberg told me that during the many years in which his duties brought him in contact with so many different people had he ever met an individual so thoroughly repulsive as Trotzky. To look at him was immediately to understand anti-Semitism and to feel more than tempted to seize this monstrous representative of the Hebrew race and give him a sound smacking. He disgusted one physically before there had been an opportunity of exchanging two words with him. Dirty, unkempt, with coal black nails, a ragged collar, and hair which suggested that it had not been combed for a year, he was altogether disreputable in appearance, and it seemed almost ridiculous to think that such a man could ever exercise any influence either on the masses or on indi-

viduals. But when he began to talk this impression disappeared and was replaced by an intense dread at the thought that such a creature might try to force through his ideas of general destruction of what constitutes our ideas of civilized society.

Trotzky called to mind that hideous monster, which Taine mentioned in his great work on the French Revolution, the crocodile hidden away in the ancient Egyptian temples by purple curtains from the masses which worshipped it. Trotzky was a crocodile in a way, inasmuch as all his thoughts were concentrated on one point — how best to encompass the complete annihilation of everything in the world which savored of government by a few individuals rather than by a mob. He was a man fit to become the idol of a mob, especially of an unruly one, and unless the observer was sorely mistaken, he was also a creature who would understand how to turn to his personal advantage all the unhealthy passions he was so eager to arouse. He spoke of Lenine with a mixture of contempt and affection, and remarked that he was anything but a strong man. Captain Rustenberg asked him what he meant by strong, and Trotzky replied at once that he considered a man strong who never hesitated at the shedding of

blood or breaking the law. He evidently thought both these things equally unimportant.

Trotzky seemed absolutely prepared for the outbreak of a great anarchist movement in Russia and only hoped that it might be delayed until after the war. He was frank in his reasons. The fall of the Romanoffs would not immediately bring his, the anarchist, party to power. The government of the Czar could only be supplanted by a Cadet administration, and Trotzky seemed to hate the Cadets just as much, if not more, than he hated the Monarchists. Perhaps this was because he realized that it would be far more difficult to get rid of the Cadets than of the Monarchists, and that an absolutely Red administration had no chance of coming to the front and firmly establishing its hold on the country, during the course of the war. At this point Captain Rustenberg suggested that perhaps this could be arranged by the judicious expenditure of rather large sums of money. Trotzky thought for a moment and then exclaimed energetically:

"Yes, money might do a lot, but this money would have to be given unconditionally and its use remain uncontrolled, and who do you think would ever agree to such conditions?

"Of course," he went on, "in case of a revolu-

tion, we ought to be able to start at once our propaganda for a government by the people and the people alone, together with a demand for the immediate conclusion of a peace which would allow the great work of a general reform of the world to begin and proceed. I hope that Russia will prove an example in this respect to other nations by showing them that it is possible for a state to exist on purely socialistic principles and an equal division of property. This is something which ought to appeal, and which will appeal, to the masses. And remember that it is the masses who must rule in the end and not the educated and what you call the cultured classes. Education ought not to be the privilege of a few, and if it is impossible for it to become universal in a few months, it is perhaps just as well to suppress it altogether among the men in charge of the interests of their country. I do not see why a common peasant cannot become a Minister or why his patriotism would not be sufficient to carry him through the difficulties of his position."

The captain ventured to suggest that perhaps in other countries Ministers would not care to discuss affairs with ignorant people, but this remark seemed to exasperate Trotzky, who exclaimed violently that if this were the case then the sooner

other countries were compelled by force to rally themselves to the principles of an anarchist state the better it would be for the world. The man seemed positively to take pleasure in the thought of the possible destruction of his opponents. The captain tried to bring him around to a sensible view of the present situation, and began to discuss with him the conditions under which he and his friends would eventually lend Germany their support in case a revolution in Russia should bring them to the front. He asked the Jew whether in case this happened Germany could rely on him to conclude an immediate peace. Trotzky looked at the captain and said with an accent which he told me he could never forget, "Yes, if you make it worth my while."

After this things were easy and the bargain was soon concluded. Trotzky was to return to Russia with money which Germany promised to supply him as soon as it was considered that it was the opportune moment for him to do so. He was to act in perfect accord with Lenine and not to allow the latter to air too much his idealistic views in the matter of government, and, finally, he was to put Germany in touch with those of his followers in Russia and Finland as well, whom he considered as likely to enter entirely into his views. Trotzky

immediately mentioned a few names, all Jews, it goes without saying. The captain already knew many of the names, but some he had never heard of. They arranged a means of communication through the German Embassy and other channels.

When the captain at last left the Hebrew demagogue, it was with the conviction that if Germany had means at Headquarters to keep Trotzky under her thumb and dependent upon her, she would have in him the most marvellous instrument of destruction that had ever existed and that had ever been hurled by a nation at the head of another with which it was at war.

CHAPTER XIX

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Captain Rustenberg was not sorry to leave America, and as soon as he came to terms with Trotzky he took passage on a Scandinavian steamer and returned home. During the time he was in the United States he had never felt at ease and was constantly under the apprehension that by some mischance or other the reason for his journey to New York would be discovered. Once or twice he fancied that he was being shadowed by Secret Service men and this idea did not add to his comfort. He found that after all the "Yankees" were extremely smart people, and knowing by experience how easy it was, if only one cared to do so, to ascertain what a foreigner was doing, he did not feel sure that in spite of his precautions he had not been followed during one of the many visits he had paid to the offices of the small Yiddish newspaper where Trotzky made his headquarters. In addition, he was by no means certain that Trotzky had not himself given information

about him. This would have been in full accord with his character, and certainly it would not have been in disagreement with his notions of morality.

When Captain Rustenberg reached Berlin he at once made a detailed report of the arrangements which he had made with the sinister person who later on was to acquire such notoriety in Russia and in Europe as well. The "Professor" declared himself completely satisfied with all the captain had done, and after he had taken profuse notes from the written statement of the captain, he sent him to Colonel X., who, in his turn, displayed considerable interest in the story. A little later — that is, during the fall of 1916 — several Russian Jews appeared in Berlin, forwarded there by the German Legation at Stockholm. There occurred at this time the famous incident of the Protopopoff interview with Mr. Warburg, the banker who had been sent especially by the German Foreign Office to meet him. After the conversation between them, Captain Rustenberg heard from a source he knew to be perfectly reliable, that a large sum of money was placed through the intermediary of the Nya Bank in Stockholm to the credit of M. Sturmer, then Russian Prime Minister, and to that of his secretary

and fides Achates M. Manassovitch-Maniuloff. The latter I have mentioned before as one of the greatest scoundrels who ever walked the earth and also as one of the German secret agents in official circles in Petrograd. Whether this money had anything to do with the appointment of M. Protopopoff as Minister for Home Affairs, it is difficult to say, but that it may have contributed to it is quite possible, if not probable.

The Protopopoff incident was followed by several conferences at a hotel in Malmo, a Swedish town on the Danish frontier, between Herr Director Steinwachs himself and some of these Russian Jews already mentioned as having been suddenly seized with a desire for travel which they had never displayed before. Among them was a man named Kameneff, whose name was found later on among the signatures at the bottom of the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, and who introduced himself as the confidential friend of both Lenine and Trotzky. This Kameneff was another repulsive Jew, but undoubtedly an intelligent creature whose only principle was to enrich himself at any price and in the shortest of times. He was eager for action, because he realized that it was only through some upheaval or other that he would be enabled to lay his greedy hands on the Russian public ex-

chequer. Captain Rustenberg heard afterwards that when it came to the partition of the millions which Germany paid for the betrayal of Russia to the Bolsheviks Kameneff was the man who got the lion's share. Partly thanks to the circumstance that when Lenine was compelled to fly from Petrograd and take refuge in Finland for a short time, Kameneff contrived to work on the feelings of alarm of Madame Lenine and persuade her to confide the money she had in the house, something like three million rubles, to his care. It is needless to say that Kameneff entirely forgot to return these millions to her when Lenine came back. But then this did not matter, for the latter had at his disposal all the public institutions, the Treasury and the private banks in Russia and was able to appropriate to his personal use as much money as he liked, or rather as his wife liked, because it was she who became her husband's business agent.

This same Kameneff tried a similar trick on Trotzky, but the latter was far too experienced to yield to his persuasions and, feeling convinced that the best way to keep a secret is in not telling it to any one, he quietly conveyed to a place of safety abroad sufficient cash to be assured of a pleasant existence to the end of his days. Though Trotzky awarded a good deal of confidence to Kameneff,

he took great care not to allow the latter to handle his possessions even in hours of emergency.

It was Kameneff who informed Herr Steinwachs of the imminence of a revolution in Russia, which he assured him would be a Palace Revolution headed by the aristocracy of the country and supported by the Cadets and liberal parties, all of whom, he asserted, were hand in glove with the Allies and committed to a war to the end with Germany. Herr Steinwachs had other reasons, aside from all that the Russian anarchist told him, to think that this information was exact. It came about at last that having done its best to bring about the fall of Nicholas II, the German government supported him during the last weeks of his sad reign, not out of a feeling of interest in his fate, but because it apprehended that a Cadet administration would commit itself to an aggressive policy from which it could not draw back and refuse even to think of opening peace negotiations. At one moment the Czar had been inclined to begin negotiations for peace, if only from an academic point of view.

Things came to a climax in Petrograd at Christmas, 1916. The assassination of the famous Rasputin opened the way for the rebellion which was to bring about the publication of the Manifest

of Pskov and the abdication of the Russian Sovereign. As Lenine and Trotzky had prophesied, the first government in supreme power after the fall of the Romanoffs was composed almost completely of Cadets, who declared themselves solidly with the Allies and pompously and solemnly announced to the world their intention of going on with the war as energetically as possible. For a brief time it seemed as if the whole country was about to rally around the new administration, and it is very likely that it would have done so, had it been composed of strong men who knew what they wanted and had a program susceptible of being put into operation. Fortunately for Germany this was far from being the case, and the government had not lasted long before the difficulties of the situation became so acute that it was no longer possible to arrest the rising tide of anarchy which, in the meantime, had started the propaganda to which both Lenine and Trotzky had alluded in their conversations with Captain Rustenberg.

At this juncture the captain was sent to Petrograd once more. It was now far easier to cross the frontier than had been the case during the reign of Nicholas II, and the captain had no difficulty whatever in making his way to the Russian capital. There was, it is true, a British control

at Torneo, but before one reached that place, in a spot situated between the Swedish town of Haparanda and the first Russian station one generally found sentries who for a small consideration winked at any traveler whose papers were not in perfect order. They would also show the stranger a conveyance of some kind, a sledge or a cart, which was usually stationed near, and the driver would undertake to land his fare at some small distant station where one could board the train going to Petrograd without the slightest difficulty. Indeed, a fortnight or so after the Revolution, a special agency was started in Stockholm under the direction of Russian anarchists who made it their business to deliver safe conducts to people who wanted to go to Petrograd, and who would not have been able to obtain regular passports from the legal authorities.

On the day Captain Rustenberg crossed the border and made his way into Finland, he was more than surprised to find awaiting him on the spot where he had been told he would find a driver and horses which were to carry him to the next railroad station, his old friend M. Joffe, who welcomed him with a beaming countenance and any amount of smiles. Joffe had quite forgotten the former obsequiousness of his manners and seemed

entirely at home in the new Russia with which the captain was about to become acquainted. More than that he appeared suddenly to have become an important personage in this topsy-turvy country and he treated the officials, or at least such of them as still existed, with the same disdain which Captain Rustenberg had seen applied to this same Jew by other people some two years before.

M. Joffe had also been in Berlin of late, and to the captain's surprise he brought instructions from Headquarters dated a few days after the captain's departure. Joffe was full of news and declared that now it would be possible to begin to work in all earnestness towards the conclusion of a reasonable peace of a nature to satisfy everybody and especially the party to which he belonged.

Petrograd was an absolute chaos, and though anarchy had not yet become an established fact, it was easy to see that it was only a question of time before it would sweep away the weak government which had taken on itself the responsibility of bringing order into the ruin left by the Romanoffs. People were talking a good deal about Kerensky, the young advocate with whom Captain Rustenberg had been in communication before the war, but though he still enjoyed considerable prestige and was even made a hero by certain people,

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General Korniloff, who led the revolt against Kerensky

mostly foreign journalists, it was easy to see that this prestige could not be maintained for any length of time and that the man was far too shallow to make use of the great opportunities within his grasp. Besides, he was compromised to a considerable extent with the extreme anarchists, and like many of them his head was turned in an incredibly short time by the sudden change in his fortunes.

Kerensky was what the French call a *jouisseur,* and when he found himself able to take up his abode in the rooms and even in the bed formerly occupied by the Czar of All the Russias and to take the latter's place on different occasions, he was so overpowered by the prospects which this transformation in his social position had opened to him that he lost his head and compromised his colleagues and the Revolution which had made him the most important personage in Russia. His reign, for one must really call his leadership that, was ephemeral, but brief as it was it did an immense amount of harm to the country, the necessities of which he never understood. Germany tried to approach him when he became Dictator, but at the moment he believed himself so strong that he declined the help she offered him. A few months later it was his turn to seek aid and in a

secret interview with Captain Rustenberg in August, 1917, he implored the latter to convey to Berlin his readiness to open peace negotiations with the Central Powers. But by that time Germany recognized his weakness and declined to meet his views. He was no longer the man of the hour, and his place had already been taken by Lenine, who had been brought from Switzerland in the first days of April of that year, and by Trotzky, who had joined Lenine in the following June. Kerensky, whom Germany at one time would have been glad to employ, was no longer of any use to her, the more so as she realized that the day was near when the whole of what was once the Russian Empire would fall into the hands of the anarchists and their leaders. Germany knew that she could always control these leaders in the sense that they would not dare resist any orders she might choose to issue to them. The day that saw the return to Petrograd of Lenine and Trotzky settled the fate of Russia, just as much as the abdication of Nicholas II settled that of the Romanoffs.

CHAPTER XX

THE RETURN OF LENINE

Later on Captain Rustenberg had the opportunity to ascertain that the German government telegraphed to Lenine the news that a revolution had broken out in Russia and that the Czar had abdicated a few hours after the event had taken place. The reply of the Russian anarchist was characteristic and consisted of four words, "When must I start?" The answer arrived the next day. It was also brief, and merely said, "Start as soon as convenient for you."

Lenine was not a man to let the grass grow under his feet, and he immediately summoned a meeting of the Russian anarchists and with them elaborated a plan of action which, unfortunately for his compatriots, he was to put into execution a few months later. Then he repaired to the German Legation in Berne and obtained the money required for his journey and the necessary permission to cross German territory. As soon as he

had these sinews of war in his hands, he left Switzerland, as he hoped, forever.

His nearest way to Petrograd lay through Berlin and Sweden. Of course he stopped in the German capital, where he had several interviews with both the " Professor " and Herr Steinwachs. The former did not take at all kindly to Lenine and made no secret of it. For one thing he could never understand fanaticism and Lenine posed as a fanatic. Then the whole personality of the man inspired him with distrust and even repulsion. Whatever the " Professor's " faults he was a sincere patriot in his way, and he could not tolerate treason when applied to one's own country. He could not understand the subtleties of Lenine's mind, and the fact that the latter accepted money from the enemies of his land rendered that individual exceedingly obnoxious to the German. But Herr Steinwachs's case was different. Before everything else he was a practical man, and it did not matter in the least in his eyes whether those whom he employed were disreputable or not. He considered Lenine an admirable instrument of demoralization in Russia, and as such he welcomed him and was ready to shake hands with him without the least compunction or qualm of conscience. The only thing the Director cared about was Le-

nine's ability to perform all that was expected of him or that he had promised.

Lenine was far more clever than he was ever given credit for and he understood very well that for the moment he was indispensable to the people who were employing him for their own purposes from whom alone he could hope to obtain the large sums of money which he required for his dirty work. While he was in Berlin he played his game admirably, and declared himself ready to try and influence public opinion in Russia and to direct it towards the necessity of concluding an immediate peace with the Central Powers. Without this peace it would be impossible to bring into execution the vast program of reforms which he considered indispensable to make a real socialistic state out of Russia, in which everything that savored of class distinction had to be eliminated carefully, if possible by persuasion, and, if impossible in that way, by violence. Therefore he proclaimed himself a pacifist and promised to do all in his power to compel the Russian nation to uphold him in his struggle against the detested and detestable "Bourgou," as the Russian anarchists called the upper classes.

Lenine had paved the way for his success even before he set foot on Russian soil by calling sev-

eral of his most trusted adherents to a conference in Stockholm, where he spent several days and where he contrived to frighten by his wild talk some of the revolutionaries who had come to meet him there. He openly avowed his understanding with Germany, which, by the way, did not please the German Intelligence Department at all, as for many reasons it would have preferred not to have its acquaintance with Lenine become an open fact so soon. Lenine explained the understanding by saying that real socialism did not mind from whom it obtained the means of fighting its battle, provided the battle was fought. After that it would be relatively easy to get rid of the people who had furnished the weapons needed to carry the struggle to a triumphant issue. In this appreciation of the situation he was vastly mistaken, for the German Intelligence Department was certainly not an institution to be trifled with and fully meant to get the pound of flesh for which it had bargained.

There were some who said, and still say, that Lenine is an idealist, and that he is honest too. Lenine is neither an idealist nor an honest man. He is only an opportunist and an ambitious, a personally ambitious, creature. He understands well a certain class of Russians, those who like empty words and eloquent speeches and who never look

ahead and never care to do so. He also understands the rough nature of the Russian peasant — that mougik who can show himself at times the kindest of men and a few minutes later the wildest and most cruel of individuals. He has also studied with great care that fatal agrarian question which has been at the bottom of all the revolutionary movements in Russia and for which there seems to be no solution to be found at present. This question has been mismanaged from the beginning and dates from the false conception the mougik has all along carried of the situation of the large landowner ever since the day of the emancipation of the serfs by Alexander II. Lenine knew fully that a general partition of all the riches of the nation between everybody was an impossibility, yet he proclaimed it as the only principle which would inspire his conduct from the first moment he set foot on Russian soil, though he never meant to carry it through. What he aimed at was to become the absolute master in a land which he believed to be doomed and out of which he only hoped to save sufficient wreckage to be able to live not only in comfort but also in affluence for the rest of his natural life. He was an exciter of the passions of the mob; he was no more of a ruler than Kerensky, and he could not even be called a

leader of men, though he knew how to launch them on a career of crime and plunder.

He promised everything that was required of him when he was put to the test. He must be rendered this justice — he did not deny his signature, but worked faithfully towards the accomplishment of the work he had been set to perform. The man had but one wish and desire — the determination to finish the task which he had accepted himself without interference from any one. When Trotzky joined him, Lenine did not like it at all at first; then he gradually fell under the influence of this human cobra and at last became the purveyor of the scaffold which M. Braunstein alone would not perhaps have been able to erect in Petrograd as well as in the rest of Russia.

What Lenine fully understood was that the army and its martial spirit had to be eliminated from the scene before he could try to apply the pacifist program of which he declared himself the partisan. In this he was in perfect accord with Kerensky, with whom — it would be useless for the latter to deny it — he concluded an alliance from the very first day of his arrival in Russia. Kerensky was compromised both with the anarchist party and with Germany. He had listened to overtures which the German Secret Service had

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DAS FREIE DEUTSCHE WORT

Aufruf des Zentralkomitees der Bolschewiki an das Sozialistische Proletariat Deutschlands.

Soldaten, Arbeiter, Arbeiterinnen!

In Russland hat das Proletariat die politische Macht ergriffen; die Arbeiter und Soldaten haben über die Regierung der Generäle, der Junker und Kapitalisten gesiegt. Noch niemals ist dem Proletariat eine so grosse Aufgabe zugewiesen, wie in diesem Augenblick.

Als Gegner des Kapitalismus und aller imperialistischen Bestrebungen hat die proletarische Regierung Russlands einen allgemeinen Waffenstillstand, zum Zwecke eines auf dem Selbstbestimmungsrecht aller Völker beruhenden Friedens angeboten, der auf allen Seiten Annexionen jeder Art, offene und verschleierte, ausschliesst.

Ihr aber lebt noch unter der Fuchtel einer Junkerregierung, die, um fremde Länder zu erobern, mit Hilfe des Belagerungszustandes, Euch zu hungernden Sklaven gemacht hat und Euch ausbeutet bis zum letzten Blutstropfen.

Soldaten, Arbeiter, Arbeiterinnen!

An Euch richtet sich der Ruf des roten Russlands. Ihr, denen in die Augen das Gespenst des vierten Winterfeldzugs schaut, Ihr, nach deren Söhnen, Vätern und Brüdern es die eisige Hand ausstreckt, Ihr habt jetzt das Wort.

Um Eure Lebensinteressen, um Euer Blut geht es. Wenn Ihr Euch uns nicht anschliesst, dann werden die Junker und Kapitalisten Euch so lange von einem Kriegsfeld aufs andere schleppen, bis Ihr verblutet. Schliesst Euch der russischen Revolution an! Nicht zu Sympathiekundgebungen, zum Kampf rufen wir Euch auf.

Steht auf!

Geht auf die Strasse!

Lasst die Fabriken stehen!

Es darf keinen vierten Winterfeldzug mehr geben, es darf kein Schuss mehr fallen!

Fordert die Befreiung der eingekerkerten Genossen, die das Vertrauen des internationalen Proletariats geniessen, damit sie an der Friedensarbeit teilnehmen können.

Traut keinen Friedensphrasen. Beurteilt die Regierung danach, ob sie sofortigen Waffenstillstand auf allen Fronten, ob sie sofortige Friedensverhandlungen anerkennt, ob sie sich zum Frieden ohne Annexionen und Kontributionen auf Grund des Selbstbestimmungsrecht aller Völker bekennt.

Bildet überall Arbeiter- und Soldatenräte, als Organe Eures Kampfes um den Frieden.

Es lebe der sofortige Waffenstillstand! Kein Schuss falle mehr!

Zu den Friedensverhandlungen!

Rückt aus zum Kampfe um den Frieden, vom freien Willen der Völker geschlossen!

Trotzky
Kommissar für die Auswärtigen Angelegenheiten.

Uljanoff Lenin
Präsident des Rats der Kommissare.

A handbill by which the Bolsheviki spread their propaganda in Germany

Bemerkung.

Umstehender Aufruf wurde durch Vermittlung der ausländischen Kommission des Zentralkomitees der Bolschewiki in Stockholm an die kriegführenden Völker gerichtet. Die Regierung Lenin's bietet die Hand zu einem auf dem Selbstbestimmungsrecht der Völker beruhenden Völkerfrieden und fordert sofortigen Waffenstillstand. Während dieser Aufruf in der Form, wie ihn die russische proletarische Regierung an die Völker der Entente gerichtet hat, in Frankreich, England, Italien usw. durch die Presse verbreitet wurde, ist es in Deutschland — dessen Regierung so oft ihre Friedensliebe behauptet — strengstens verboten diesen Aufruf zu verbreiten oder abzudrucken. Es wurde ebenfalls im Gegensatz zu Österreich verboten, Versammlungen abzuhalten, in denen das russische Friedens- und Waffenstillstand-angebot besprochen werden sollte. Abgeordneter Haase von der Unabhängigen Sozialdemokratischen Partei äusserte sich im Reichstag über dieses Verbot folgendermassen. «Ein Aufruf unserer Partei zur Veranstaltung von Versammlungen mit der Parole der russischen Regierung: allgemeiner Waffenstillstand zum Zwecke eines auf allen Seiten annexionslosen Friedens», wurde beschlagnahmt und seine Weiterverbreitung verboten. Der «Leipziger Volkszeitung», die vor dem Verbote den Aufruf abgedruckt hat, wurde die Unterdrückung für die Dauer des Krieges abgedroht.

«Die Einberufung der Friedensversammlungen wurde dann verboten. Als darauf die Arbeiter sich entschlossen, in Deutschland durch Strassendemonstrationen ihren Friedenswillen zu bekunden, schritten an verschiedenen Stellen Polizeibeamte gegen die Demonstrierenden in brutaler Weise ein, und der stellvertretende kommandierende General des vierten Armeekorps erliess eine Bekanntmachung, die eine besondere Betrachtung verdient. Es heisst in dieser Verordnung, die überall angeschlagen ist: «Niemals als jetzt war die Lage günstiger für unser Vaterland einen Frieden zu erreichen, der die Zukunft des deutschen Volkes und das Wohl der arbeitenden Bevölkerung sichert. Ich weiss mich daher eins mit allen ernsten und gereiften deutschen Männern und Frauen, wenn ich hiermit erkläre, dass sich jedem Versuche jener dunklen Ehrenmänner, die in der entscheidenden Stunde dieses Völkerringens heimtückisch unsern in den schärfsten Kämpfen begeisterten tapfern Brüdern draussen durch unangebrachte Meinungsäusserungen in den Arm fallen, mit der gebotenen Schärfe begegnen werde.» Deutsche Arbeiter, warnt eure Kameraden vor Unbedachtsamkeit, deutsche Mütter, hütet eure Kinder vor dem Unheil, das ihnen an der Beteiligung an öffentlichen Zusammenrottungen droht. Wer sich hieran oder durch Verteilen und Vorzeigen von Aufrufen, Listen, Zetteln und dergleichen beteiligt, begeht Landesverrat und wird, wenn nicht mildernde Umstände zugebilligt werden, mit Zuchthaus, unter Umständen mit dem Tode bestraft. Deutsche Männer und Frauen, weiset mit Abscheu die Hetzer zurück, die eure Väter Brüder und auch die Frauen auf die Strasse treiben wollen, angeblich um den Frieden zu dienen, in Wahrheit aber, um Deutschland den Feinden auszuliefern. Feindliche Bestechungsgelder spielen hierbei eine Rolle.

«Wenn Arbeiter in Leeds, Lyon oder Mailand für den Frieden auf den Strassen demonstrieren, werden sie in der gesamten deutschen Presse als Vorkämpfer des Friedens gefeiert; wenn aber deutsche Arbeiter in gleicher Weise handeln, werden sie bekämpft.»

An diesen Tatsachen möge das deutsche Volk den Frie-

dens willen der preussisch-deutschen Regierung beurteilen. Das Verbot des russischen Friedens- und Waffenstillstandsvorschlags wird dem deutschen Volke wohl zur Genüge beweisen, dass es von dieser Regierung einen Frieden nicht zu erwarten hat.

Wie sieht es in Oesterreich aus?

Die in Würzburg erscheinende «Bayerische Landeszeitung» druckt in ihrer Nummer vom 30. November 1917 (№ 421) einen Brief ab, der ihr aus Wien zugeschickt wurde; der die ganze erste Seite umfassende Artikel trägt in dicken Lettern den Titel:

Der Hungertod.

Die Zustände, die in Österreich in Bezug auf die Ernährung herrschen, werden darin in der krassesten Weise geschildert. Es stellt sich nun die Frage: wie kommt es, dass die in dieser Beziehung so besonders strenge preussisch-deutsche Zensur diese Darstellung der österreichischen Verhältnisse genehmigte, obschon der Verfasser unumwunden zugibt, dass Deutschlands Bundesgenosse der Erschöpfung nahe ist? Beim Lesen dieses Artikels hat man ganz den Eindruck, dass Österreich-Ungarn, wie man so sagt «aus dem letzten Loch pfeife». Wahrscheinlich hatte die deutsche Zensur dabei die Absicht die berühmte preussische «Organisation» in das rechte Licht zu stellen, und vielleicht den bayerischen Landeskinderu mit diesem Artikel zuzurufen: «Seht, so was kommt bei uns, dank der preussischen Organisation, nicht vor». Nun das bayerische Volk wird vielleicht anderer Ansicht sein, denn an vielen Stellen kann man ruhig statt «Österreich» «Deutschland» setzen und statt «Wien» «Berlin». Doch das mögen unsere Leser aus den folgenden Auszügen selbst beurteilen:

«Der staatliche Apparat, repräsentiert durch die Bürokratie, hat wie überall im Kriege versagt. Bei uns in Österreich-Ungarn gabes nur eine Organisation, die im Handumdrehen ein Spinnennetz über Stadt und Land zog und überall mit Gewinn ihre schmutzigen Hände hineinstecken konnte: die Organisation der grossen Spitzbuben, samt ihren Helfern und Helfershelfern. Sie haben die Hamsterei und den Preiswucher mittelst Aufkauf und Kettenhandel aufs Höchste ausgebildet und dank der Schwäche der Verwaltungsbehörden, der Polizei und Justiz zum herrschenden Prinzip des Staates, des Verkehrs und der Volksernährung erhoben.

Trotzdem schon die Geschichte der französischen Revolution lehrte, dass alle Verordnungen, Gesetze und Androhungen mit Geld- und Freiheitsstrafen dem gemeinschädlichen und gemeingefährlichen Unfug des Lebensmittel- und Warenwuchers keinen Abbruch zu tun vermochten, bis endlich eine tatkräftige Regierung diese Wucherer wie die betrügerischen Armeelieferanten als Landesverräter vom Kriegsgericht dem Henker überlieferte und so rasch die Ordnung herstellte, blieb man in Österreich-Ungarn bei der Vielschreiberei stehen, liess noch durch die Zensur der ehrlichen und mutigen Presse Handschellen anlegen, trug so zur Fortdauer der heillosen Wirtschaft und zur Schürung der allgemeinen Unzufriedenheit mächtig bei und erzeugte allerlei Angstprodukte wie den Amnestie-Erlass für die tschechischen Hochverräter(?), die Verheissung des allgemeinen, gleichen und geheimen Wahlrechtes in Ungarn und den Vorschlag für einen kraftlosen Verzichtfrieden durch den Aussenminister Graf Czernin.

Kürzlich ist amtlich in Wien festgestellt worden, in einem Bericht der Gemeinde, dass die Sterblichkeit unter den armen alten Leuten um 50 Prozent zugenommen habe, namentlich unter denen, die in die Versorgungshäuser der

Bürgerschaft aufgenommen werden. Die in diesen Häusern seit Jahren Sesshaften, die von der Gemeinde während des ganzen Krieges ernährt wurden, hatten noch durch, die aber, die neu hinzukommen, sterben alle dahin. Sie kommen so unterernährt, so verkümmert an, so dass man in der Regel nur noch für ein Grab zu sorgen habe.

Damit ist die statistische Feststellung gegeben über den Hungerzustand in den ärmeren Schichten der Wiener Bevölkerung. Und die Friedhofsverwaltungen bestätigen auch sonst eine ungemein erhöhte Sterblichkeitsziffer. Dieses Sterben aber hängt viel weniger zusammen mit dem Mangel an Lebensmitteln als dem wahnsinnigen Wucher, der mit allen Esswaren getrieben wird. Für die, die genügend Geld haben, ist noch immer alles aufzutreiben, der Arme aber ist dem Hunger ausgeliefert. Und er hat auch keine Kohle und kein Licht, der Winter aber steht vor der Tür.

Seit dem Februar d.J. schon werden Hungerzustände in mehreren deutschen Bezirken Nordböhmens festgestellt. Die fachwissenschaftlichen Kreise nennen die Krankheit, die dort auftritt, Hungerödem und es ist in Österreich jetzt eine Kommission des Obersten Sanitätsrates am Werke, diese Erscheinung zu studieren.

Doch auch ihr Bericht verdient höchste Aufmerksamkeit. Die Fälle des Hungerodems zählen nach vielen Tausenden die Sterblichkeit steigt überall. In der berühmten Leine weberstadt Rumburg, wo die Sterblichkeit früher 35 Prozent betrug, ist sie um mehr als 50 Prozent gestiegen, heisst es in diesem Bericht. Wenn wir recht verstehen, so sterben also von 100 Personen mehr als 55. Das steht schwarz auf weiss da, also fällt nur eine Zeile, ohne dass auf ihren grauenhaften Inhalt besonders hingewiesen wäre.

Und die Kommission stellt auch fest, dass der Hungerödem im Frühjahr sich verminderte, zur Erntezeit abzuflauen begann und jetzt wieder steigt. Die Krankheit hängt also genau zusammen mit der natürlichen Ernährungsweise von Gemüsen und Feldfrüchten und hält Schritt mit dem Gang des Jahres. Der Winter wird eine Katastrophe bringen.

Warum ist in Österreich-Ungarn nicht mit der rücksichtslosesten Strenge Ordnung gemacht worden in der Lebensmittelverteilung, so lange es noch keinen Hungerödem gab? Alle Welt weiss es, dass die nicht den geringsten Mangel leiden, die das Kilo Schmalz mit 30-40 Kronen, den Zucker mit 15 Kronen, das feine Nullermehl mit 16 und 20 Kronen und eine Gans mit 120 Kronen bezahlen können. Gar nicht zu reden von allen denkbaren Fleischarten, die jedem zur Verfügung stehen, der sie bezahlen kann.

Das ist die grosse Sünde des Krieges. Und an ihren Folgen werden wir noch lange kranken, sie wird zur Verschärfung der sozialen Bedrängnis mehr beitragen als die hochmögenden Herren sich heute träumen lassen. Der Aufstieg und die Ausbreitung des Gedankens der Volksherrschaft während des Krieges ist hauptsächlich auf die verschärfte Ungleichmässigkeit in der Verteilung seiner Lasten zurückzuführen. Nie trat es so augenfällig hervor, wem die schwersten Opfer aufgebürdet werden, wie jetzt, nie sah man so scharf wie schlecht und mit wie wenig Verstand die allgemeinen Güter des Vaterlandes verwaltet werden. Das gilt für Ungarn wie für Österreich und der Hungerödem wird gar bald keine nordböhmische Angelegenheit mehr sein.

Das deutsche Volk hat aber ein ruhiges Gewissen, dieses Volk, das soviel gestritten, gelitten, geopfert und gehungert hat. Wer aber hat ein schlechtes Gewissen, wer hat die Gebote der Sittlichkeit und Menschlichkeit missachtet, wer die Gebote des Geldsacks und des Wanstes über Gesetz, Recht und Moral gesetzt und dem Volke Essen und Trinken verleidet, für sich aber Reichtümer und Schätze gesammelt? Für diese Leute — die Lebensmittelwucherer, Kettenhändler, Preistreiber, und Konsorten — fürchtet Exzellenz Daraburg, er hat Angst vor der kochenden Volksseele, deshalb sucht er nach einem neuen Geist der Verständigung, damit die Spitzbuben ihren Raub im Frieden verzehren können, ohne den allerdings ihr Leben nicht wert ist, gelebt zu werden.»

Die Möglichkeit einer deutschen Revolution.

Von Dr. H. Suttner

Die Möglichkeit einer deutschen Revolution ist ein Problem, über das schon viel gesprochen und geschrieben wurde. Besonders brennend ist diese Frage, seit das russische Volk, das man in Deutschland gerne als minderwertig hinstellt, die Kraft zur Selbstbefreiung gefunden und mit dem absolutistischen Zarismus aufgeräumt.

Könnte das unter ähnlichen Bedingungen lebende deutsche Volk nicht auch einmal zu diesem Mittel greifen?

Ein französischer Verlag unternahm es, die verschiedenen Antworten und Äusserungen zu dieser Frage in einer Broschüre zu sammeln. Fast Alle beantworteten verneinend, mit der Begründung, dass das deutsche Volk geistig noch nicht dazu reif sei.

Bebel sagte einmal zu einem Franzosen, der ihn über seine Meinung fragte: «Ihr hattet es leicht mit der Revolution, ihr habt nur einen Kopf abschneiden müssen, wir Deutschen müssten deren fünfundzwanzig abhauen!»

Damit wäre ein schwer ger Punkt der Antwort getroffen. Die fünfundzwanzig verschiedenen deutschen Staaten mit ihren fünfundzwanzig verschiedenen Oberhäuptern leben unter den allerverschiedensten Verhältnissen, die teilweise zu einer Unzufriedenheit weniger Anlass geben, da manche dieser Staaten sich einer verhältnismässig demokratischen Verfassung erfreuen. Vor allem ist dies bei einigen süddeutschen Staaten zutreffend.

Während diese Staaten im grössten Frieden lebten, und nicht im geringsten an die Möglichkeit des Krieges dachten, hatte Preussen nur die Verstärkung der eigenen Macht im Auge, suchte Preussen unermüdlich eine ausgeprägte Vormachtstellung unter den Bundesstaaten zu erringen, um seine ehrgeizigen Pläne nach aussen ermöglichen zu können.

Es war daher ein beständiger Kampf im Innern des Reiches, denn nicht jeder Staat wollte die preussische Vormacht ohne weiteres anerkennen, vor allem nicht Bayern. Das ganze Militärwesen und das für den Kriegsfall nicht minder wichtige Eisenbahnwesen kam allmählich in die Hände des eroberungslüsternen Preussen. Bayern allein weigerte sich, es den übrigen Bundesstaaten gleich zu tun und diese Hauptgrundlage der politischen Selbständigkeit an Preussen abzutreten.

Es allein bewahrte die von der Reichsverfassung garantierte Selbständigkeit am meisten und zwar in jeder Hinsicht.

Man frag an das selbstherrliche Preussen mit seinen selbstherrlichen Junkern und gefräßigen Industriellen, vor allem ist dies in Bayern der Fall, als den Feind zu betrachten. Man ahnte früh, wohin eine uebelriechende Hohenzollerpolitik in moderner Zeit führen müsse, und man möchte auch aus der Missbilligung kein Hehl. Der Reisekaiser zog es daher meistens vor, München mit seinen Besuchen zu verschonen. Wie «begeistert» man ihn stets aufgenommen, wenn er doch einmal gekommen, davon wissen die Münchner die schönsten Anekdoten zu erzählen. Man schlage nur den «Simplizissimus» nach.

Welchen Zweck Preussen mit seiner Vormachtstellung,

mit seiner Alleinherrschaft in Deutschland im Auge hatte, sagt uns der heutige Krieg deutlich genug. Man erinnere sich nur der schwungvollen Reden und Zeitungsartikel im ersten Kriegsjahre, in denen die preussische Organisation und Manneszucht das A und Z waren. Wie oft wurde bei dieser Gelegenheit unbedachtsamerweise mit Stolz auf diese preussische Vormachtstellung hingewiesen. «Nur Preussen haben wir unsere Kriegsbereitschaft und Kriegstüchtigkeit zu verdanken» war das einstimmige Lob der verschiedensten Zeitungen.

Eine eroberungssüchtige Hohenzollernpolitik im Bunde mit einer geldgierigen Industriemachenschaft hat das friedliebende deutsche Volk in den Krieg getrieben, ohne es nach seinem eigenen Willen zu fragen, und hat die ganze Welt in Flammen gesetzt.

Ist daher von einer deutschen Revolution die Rede, so kann es sich nur um eine Revolution gegen Preussen, gegen den König von Preussen und seine Anhänger, die Kraut- und Industriejunker handeln.

Diese sind der deutsche Erbfeind, und gegen diese wird sich eine deutsche Volkserhebung wenden. Aber, sagt man, das deutsche Volk war mehr oder weniger mit dieser Politik und Regierung doch einverstanden, es hat den Krieg doch zugelassen; es fehlt ihm heute noch der Sinn für politische Freiheit, weshalb es keineswegs zu einer Revolution schreiten wird; es wüsste vielleicht nicht einmal einen Grund dazu.

Hat das deutsche Volk wirklich kein Verständnis für politische Freiheit? Das Verständnis ist da, ist unbedingt da und wird sich auch noch mächtig äussern. Mit der grössten Brutalität hat man bisher jede solche Äusserung unterdrückt, ja, man scheute sich nicht einmal, die Verfassung zu verletzen wie z. B. im Falle Liebknecht.

Das Morgenrot der russischen Revolution war auch auf deutschem Himmel sichtbar, was die jüngsten, mit grösster Vorsicht gemachten Enthüllungen im Reichstage beweisen. Sie ist an Deutschland nicht vorübergegangen, ohne als leuchtendes Beispiel einen nachhaltigen Eindruck zu hinterlassen. Eine masslose Erbitterung hat das deutsche Volk erfasst, die zur Selbsthilfe greift, wenn gewisse Leute nicht vorher freiwillig auf die Selbstherrlichkeit verzichten und dem Volke seine Rechte zurückgeben.

«Die Deutschen sind ein gründliches Volk», sagte Prinz Alexander zu Hohenlohe einmal, «und wenn sie einmal abrechnen, werden sie es auch gründlich tun!»

Die «Freie Zeitung» (Bern), 5. Dez. 1917.

Wie's gemacht wird.

In der Pforzheimer «Freien Presse» lesen wir: Wenn einmal die Geschichte der Kriegsgesellschaften geschrieben wird, wird sie die Geschichte eines öffentlichen Skandals sein. Nicht umsonst schreiben die Blätter fast aller politischen Richtungen von den «berüchtigten» Kriegsgesellschaften. Sie sind angeblich zur besseren Versorgungsregelung gegründet, in Wirklichkeit aber sind es grosskapitalistische Syndikate zur Auswucherung des Publikums und zur Beseitigung der unliebsamen kleinen Konkurrenz.

Eine neue Kriegsgesellschaft wurde am Sonntag in Karlsruhe gebildet. Dem Vorsitzenden derselben wurde ein Jahresgehalt von 72000 Mark, das sind monatlich 6000 Mark bewilligt. Aus der Mitte der Versammlung wurde gegen dieses horrende Gehalt des Vorsitzenden, der nebenbei bemerkt, das Mehrfache an sonstigen Einnahmen hat, protestiert und die Frage aufgeworfen: «Was müsste da ein Hindenburg bezahlt werden?» Die Mehrheit der Anwesenden empfand jedoch keinerlei moralische Skrupel und bewilligte dem Vorsitzenden der neuen Kriegsgesellschaft 72000 Mark Gehalt. Ganze 4 von den 36 Anwesenden konnten es mit ihrer geschäftlichen Moral nicht vereinbaren, ein so unerhörtes Gehalt zu bewilligen. Selbstverständlich können diese enormen Summen an Gehalt nur bei entsprechenden Einnahmen bezahlt werden. Diese werden durch die Bewucherung des Publikums erzielt. Es ist klar, dass, wenn der Vorsitzende einer solchen Kriegsgesellschaft 72000 Mark Jahresgehalt hat, diejenigen, die es ihm bewilligen, nicht leer ausgehen wollen. Der gute geduldige deutsche Michel zahlt's ja.

So geschehen im Jahre des Heils 1917, im vierten Jahre des Krieges, in Badens Haupt- und Residenzstadt unter den Augen der Behörde.

Man greift sich an den Kopf. Draussen stehen unsere Söhne und Brüder im schwersten blutigsten Kampf. Daheim arbeitet das Volk, was das Zeug hält, und eine kleine Minderheit kapitalischer Vampire bereichert sich an der Not des Volkes in der unerhörtesten Weise, sammelt Riesen vermögen an, dieweil der Staat und die Masse des Volkes immer mehr verarmen.

Wir fragen laut und möchten es in alle Winde schreien: Wie lange glaubt man dem deutschen Volke diese Zustände noch bieten zu können? Wann endlich findet sich eine Stelle, die dieser S...wirtschaft ein Ende macht?

An das Sozialistische Proletariat Deutschlands.

Der Vorstand der Unabhängigen Sozialdemokratie Deutschlands richtet an die Arbeiter und Arbeiterinnen den nachstehenden Aufruf:

In Russland hat das Proletariat die politische Gewalt ergriffen — ein Ereignis von weltgeschichtlicher Bedeutung. Noch niemals ist dem Proletariat eine so grosse Aufgabe zugewiesen, wie in diesem Augenblick.

Als Gegner der Kapitalismus und aller imperialistischen Bestrebungen will die proletarische Regierung Russlands einen allgemeinen Waffenstillstand zum Zweck eines Friedens anbieten, der auf allen Seiten Annexionen jeder Art offene und verschleierte, ausschliesst.

Die Hoffnung den Winterfeldzug zu vermeiden, ist damit verstärkt. Diese Hoffnung kann jedoch nicht in Erfüllung gehen, wenn das deutsche Proletariat lediglich als teilnehmender Zuschauer die Vorgänge in Russland verfolgt. Gerade das deutsche Proletariat hat die Pflicht, jetzt überall Massenkundgebungen für einen auf allen Seiten annexionslosen Frieden zu veranstalten. Die Pläne, Gebietserwerbungen zu machen, sei es im Westen, sei es im Osten, haben wir Sozialisten grundsätzlich bekämpft. Mehr als je bilden sie jetzt ein Friedenshindernis.

Genossen und Genossinnen! Beweist, dass ihr mit diesen Plänen nichts zu tun habt, dass ihr den annexionslosen Frieden wie alle sozialistisch denkenden Proletarier der Welt wollt. Regt euch! Vergesst nicht eure grosse geschichtliche Aufgabe. Viel steht für das Proletariat auf dem Spiel! Überall müssen Versammlungen veranstaltet werden, in denen mit wuchtiger Kraft der Ruf zu erschallen hat: Allgemeiner Waffenstillstand zum Zweck eines auf allen Seiten annexionslosen Friedens!

Die Unabhängige Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands.
Dittmann, Haase, Hofer, Laukant,
Ledebour, Wengels, Zietz.

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caused to be made to him and, on the other hand, he had been induced to accept the help of the anarchist and extreme socialist parties by promising them that they would be included in the government which he wanted to form with their help. Kerensky was not an idealist by any means and was exceedingly alive to his personal requirements. His head had been turned, as I have said, by his unexpected success and he never realized that this success had been partly bought with German money and that he was exalted by the German press, acting on orders from the German Foreign Office and the German Intelligence Department.

The German Intelligence Department had never conducted any negotiations more brilliantly or with more skill than this whole affair of the Russian Revolution and the Russian débâcle. By a master stroke it had contrived to send to Russia the very people who were most capable of ruining that unfortunate country and of playing on its evil passions and worst instincts. It had persuaded these men that it would help them to attain the pinnacle of their unhealthy ambitions and it had really done so, not out of honesty or because it believed in them, but simply because it knew that through these men alone it could enforce what it could never have obtained otherwise — the dis-

memberment of a great country and the ruin of a great people.

All the time that Captain Rustenberg remained in Petrograd, he often trembled lest the government then in power should see through the multifarious intrigues which Germany was conducting and put under lock and key the men who were helping to carry them through. The German government had already begun to distribute right and left the large sums which it sacrificed to insure the conclusion of the treaty which was signed at Brest-Litovsk and the manner in which these sums were transferred to Petrograd I shall explain shortly. Germany had friends and supporters among members of the Kerensky administration, beginning with himself. It helped both Lenine and Trotzky to win for themselves strong supporters in what remained of the army, which was already, if not entirely, at least almost entirely, disbanded and demoralized, and among the workmen employed in the different munition factories in Petrograd and Moscow. Germany subsidized the constitution of the Soviets, that disturbing element which was to prove a hindrance to every serious attempt at government in Russia, and she had won numerous partisans to the idea of the conclusion of an immediate peace without reference to the

Allies. But there was always the fear that some one among the members of the administration would awaken to the dangers and assert himself and his authority by putting both Lenine and Trotzky under lock and key, which, of course, would have spoiled the whole game.

But the following incident did happen. A Moscow lawyer named Karinsky, the State Prosecutor, sought the Prime Minister and entreated him to have the two friends arrested. At first Kerensky refused, but then asked for a delay before he made up his mind; he caused secret information to be conveyed to Lenine as to what he had been requested to do which enabled the latter to make his escape to Finland. Trotzky, however, was seized by an officer who had heard him make an anarchist speech in the street and carried him to the police station. The State Prosecutor signed a warrant for Trotzky's committal to the famous Kresty prison, where he was conveyed immediately, to the dismay of many people, including Captain Rustenberg, who at once dispatched a messenger to Sweden, through Finland, with instructions to wire the news to Berlin. In an incredibly short time, the captain received orders to secure Trotzky's release no matter how much he had to spend to accomplish it. This became an easy matter under

the conditions. The Soviets, or rather some members of the organizations — there were half a dozen of these bodies in Petrograd alone — were persuaded to clamor for Trotzky's release and heated discussions on this subject took place at the Tauride Palace. M. Perewiazeff, who at the time held the portfolio of Minister of Justice, attempted a lame explanation of the motives which had induced him to put an end to the activity of the famous agitator, but they were drowned in a general uproar, and after three days' confinement Trotzky was set free.

But his arrest had taught Berlin a lesson, and it was decided that the time for action had come at last; that the great drive which was to end in the fatal treaty which delivered Russia into German hands had to begin in real earnest. In order to make the last arrangements Captain Rustenberg was ordered to return to Stockholm, where definite instructions would await him.

CHAPTER XXI

MADAME SOUMENTAY COMES TO STOCKHOLM

When Captain Rustenberg arrived in Stockholm he found that both Herr Steinwachs and Mr. Barker were there. They seemed extremely preoccupied with the events which were hurrying on one after another in Russia and nervously anxious to come to an understanding with the Bolshevik leaders, as the anarchist party was already called. For many reasons both political and military it had become essential for Germany to conclude a peace with Russia as speedily as possible and the only government which could be brought to lend itself to the various combinations into which it had entered was a Bolshevik one. It remained, therefore, to see that it was installed in power and this had become the first object of the care of the German Intelligence Department. The first Cadet Cabinet, in which men of the eminence of Professor Miliukoff, Prince Lvoff, and others had occupied seats, no longer existed. All its sane elements had been eliminated or had retired of their

own accord, finding it impossible to fight against the socialists and anarchists who were coming to the front more and more, encouraged by Kerensky, who all through played a double game as contemptible as it was stupid. But on that very account, and because it had to be recognized that the man was too weak to be a serious enemy and too devoid of initiative to become a friend upon whom it would be possible to rely, it became necessary to remove him. It must not be forgotten that all through this second revolution which brought the Bolsheviki into power, Germany was playing for one of the highest stakes ever known. Not only the fate of Russia but also that of Germany in a certain measure was trembling in the balance, and Captain Rustenberg often wondered how the German Staff and Secret Service had ever found sufficient courage to start the play and to go on with it in spite of the many obstacles with which they were confronted.

Herr Steinwachs, however, seemed perfectly at home in the intricacies of the game. He seemed to know every trump his adversary held and in addition to Captain Rustenberg and several of his colleagues in Petrograd, the Director received information from many sources, some of which remained unknown to the captain, while others had

often been of considerable use to him in investigations he had to make on his own account. At this juncture M. Kalyschkoff once more came to the front and earned the complete gratitude of the German Intelligence Department. He had returned to Stockholm in the summer of 1916 and settled in a small seaside place not far from town, called Saltsjobaden, which later on became the meeting place of many Russian refugees as well as of German Jews. Here one of the best and most important German agents, Baron von Oppel, settled permanently in order to carry on unobserved the extensive work he had been commissioned to perform. And though Kalyschkoff declared that he had only left Russia for reasons of health and that he had come to Sweden in search of the rest of which he was in sore need, the real purpose of his establishment at Saltsjobaden was to form a link between certain parties in Russia and the German Foreign Office, which he kept supplied with regular information that was relatively easy for him to obtain. M. Kalyschkoff professed a holy horror for the very name of anarchist and Bolshevik, but he owned quite frankly that he knew Lenine and considered him a thoroughly honest man. He admitted that he had met Trotzky, for whose intellectual qualities he had a high

opinion. When he was asked about the state of affairs in Russia, he used to reply that it was too early to judge them and that the country needed peace before it could settle to anything approaching a normal condition. In general that word "peace" seemed to be on every Russian lip and one heard it everywhere, in Petrograd, in Moscow, in Kieff, and in Stockholm, where by that time the headquarters of the Bolsheviki and the Germans were established.

One thing that troubled Herr Steinwachs was a means of transferring large sums of money to Russia without arousing the suspicions of the Allies, who, as was well known, had means of watching all the money operations in Continental banks. This was a grave matter which had to be settled somehow, for there were so many people to be subsidized in Petrograd that it was impossible to confide to one person all the funds which would have to change hands in a relatively short time. Trotzky was an exacting person and besides him there were other agents who had to be taken care of. Then, again, it was indispensable to ascertain whether the propaganda work among the troops at the front was properly conducted. If the army would only lay down their arms of their accord, half the task would be accomplished,

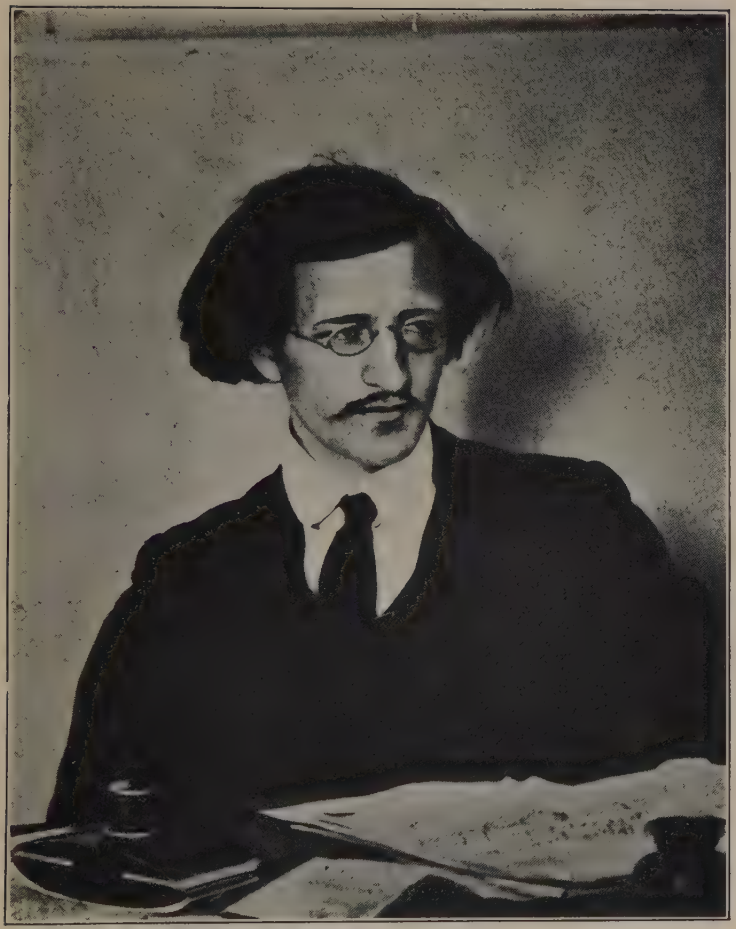
because the government of the day, be it Bolshevik or an administration composed of other elements, would have an excuse before the world for putting an end to a struggle which, they could say, had destroyed all the strength Russia had possessed.

I shall now relate a curious sidelight on this affair. At this particular moment there were still men in the German Secret Service, the "Professor" among others, who were not in favor of an alliance with the Bolsheviki in general and with Trotzky in particular. They seemed to dread him more than they did Lenine, perhaps because they deemed him the more unscrupulous of the two. If at that moment Germany could have substituted some one else for this ferocious government, she would have done so without hesitation. But unfortunately there was no other government within her reach for this purpose, so there was nothing else to do but take whatever Providence had given Prussia and accept, with shame and reluctance, perhaps, but to accept all the same, the hand which M. Braunstein and his colleague Ioulianoff were so eager to extend, certainly with the hope that Germany would put in it something worth while.

The Russian army was not the only subject of

worry in Berlin. There was the labor question and the state of mind of the workmen in the munition factories who constituted an important factor in the game. If the workmen could be influenced to strike and refuse to continue the making of shell and guns and the other implements of war on which they were employed, this would constitute a serious argument for the Russian government, such as it was, in favor of the cessation of hostilities. But the Secret Service had only vague reports on these important factors in the situation and it required something more definite than the rumors which had reached Berlin in order to make its plans and to know how to proceed in a matter where nothing could be left to chance.

It is hard to say what would have happened or what decisions Herr Steinwachs and his colleagues would have taken, if at this juncture there had not appeared in Stockholm as a messenger of peace, with an olive branch in her hand, no less a person than Captain Rustenberg's old friend, Madame Soumentay. She arrived one fine morning with the news that she had been asked to undertake the long journey from Petrograd to Sweden by no less a person than Lenine himself, who at last wished precise instructions from Berlin as to the



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Antonoff, one the five Bolshevik leaders who shared 20,000,000 roubles — paid by Germany

course he was expected to pursue henceforth.

Mme. Soumentay was a charming woman and, moreover, one who knew her own mind. She said at once that the Germans ought to be extremely careful in regard to the handling of funds which they wanted to send to Russia, because Germany was suspected of subsidizing a campaign in her favor in Petrograd. Every bank in the capital would be but too ready to put spokes in the wheels either by delaying payment of any sums Germany transferred to her friends or allies in Petrograd or by informing the Allies that such sums had been transmitted to them. It was indispensable, therefore, that the German agents should resort to unusual precautions not only so as to disarm suspicion, but also to obliterate all traces of the origin of the money to be put at the disposal of the new government which had contrived to seize the Russian Empire and to rule or misrule it according to its fancies.

Mme. Soumentay was essentially a practical woman, and whatever she may have lacked it was not intelligence. She gave a short but most graphic description of the different men capable of working hand in hand with Germany and of strengthening Lenine and Trotzky in their deter-

mination to bring the war to an end, so that they might be able to put into execution their magnificent program of government.

By a curious — what shall I call it? — coincidence all these men, most of whom were about to play a leading part in the great betrayal of Russia, were Jews. The new commander-in-chief of the Bolshevik army was Abraham Krylenko, a former ensign in a regiment of infantry. He had begun his career as a schoolmaster in a small rural community and had been forced into the ranks by the war. He was a sort of lazy, good for nothing fellow with hazy notions of grammar and especially of geography. One day he asked whether Rheims was in France or England. His intimacy with another of Trotzky's friends, a lawyer named Kozlovsky, had brought him into personal contact with the famous agitator, who had discovered a submissive instrument in him and had immediately offered him the command of what was left of the Russian army, perhaps with the idea that this appointment would destroy the few sound elements left in its ranks. The lawyer Kozlovsky was a Polish Jew with a shady reputation and an inordinate ambition. Then there was Zina Antonoff, another Jew, who was later on to hold different important positions one after another and whose

political ideas consisted in thinking that the old order of society ought to be swept away at one stroke to make place for a new, in which everybody who felt the desire to appropriate to himself the property of his neighbor could do so without fear of being prevented from putting his pious longing into execution. There was M. Adolphe Joffe, who spoke openly of the day when he would become Russian Ambassador in Berlin, the only place to which he wished to go, because he had there so many acquaintances of former times with whom he would be able to make *geshaft* on a hitherto unprecedented scale owing to his official position. There was Zinovieff, one of Trotzky's most faithful lieutenants, who, like so many of his coreligionists in this time of crisis, had adopted a Russian name. Last but not least was Lenine's wife, also of Israelitic origin, and several others of minor importance whose names I have already forgotten. Mme. Soumentay did not add that there were people who were sure that she also had Jewish blood in her veins.

These were the people with whom Germany would be obliged to work. Repugnant as they were, neither Herr Steinwachs nor Colonel X. nor any of the chiefs of the German Secret Service hesitated to make use of them and to pay them.

CHAPTER XXII

THE BOLSHEVIK HEADQUARTERS IN STOCKHOLM

I find that although I have written at length about Trotzky, I have not mentioned his return to Europe from America. The anarchist leader had also been informed as early as practicable of the particulars of the Revolution in Petrograd and told that it would be to his advantage, as well as that of his party, if he returned to Russia at once. He was not encumbered with luggage nor bothered with the necessity of breaking up a home, for all he had was in three rooms in the Ghetto of New York, which had been furnished with money lent him by friends of his own race whom he never repaid nor intended to repay for that matter. At that time a special permission to leave the United States was not required by aliens and Trotzky, to whom sufficient money to pay for his passage had been cabled, embarked on a Scandinavian ship, in an excellent temper and full of hope of being able at last to acquire the notoriety for which he had been hungering all his life.

But his joy did not last long, for at Halifax the British authorities, who seemed to know more about him than he had supposed, took him off the ship and interned him in a concentration camp. Trotzky protested with the utmost energy and dispatched a series of cablegrams to Kerensky and the new Russian government, claiming as his right their intervention in his behalf. Kerensky had never liked Trotzky, perhaps he was slightly afraid of him, and would have been but too glad to let him remain in durance vile, so he turned a deaf ear to his entreaties. But then the unexpected happened. The Russian Minister was influenced in some mysterious manner to the extent that at last he sent the English government a request for the liberation of Trotzky, whom he described as a poor Russian exile who desired to return to his own country, after its deliverance from the rule of the hated Romanoffs. The amusing part of the story was that Trotzky was not a Russian subject at all, a circumstance of which Kerensky could not have been ignorant. At that time, April or May, 1917, the world was suffering from an attack of what I would call Kerenskomania. The British Cabinet had not yet appreciated this personage at his true worth and it yielded to the Russian Minister's request. Leon Trotzky

was told that he could go and get hanged somewhere else than in Halifax.

Trotzky did not seem too elated at this triumph. Perhaps he had good reasons to expect his freedom would be granted, and he embarked on another steamer which this time brought him without further unpleasantness to Norway. There a surprise awaited him in the shape of one of his creditors in Paris, who happened to be in Bergen quite by chance at the time that the ship that was carrying Trotzky and his fortune arrived there. The creditor immediately accosted Trotzky and declared that he meant to make things hot for him. The anarchist tried to escape from the clutches of his foe, but the latter was tenacious and expressed the intention of applying to the Norwegian authorities to prevent Trotzky pursuing his journey. The poor debtor protested at first, then became very angry, but at last when he saw there was nothing else to be done, asked for a few hours' delay, during which he contrived in some mysterious manner, which Captain Rustenberg could have easily explained, to raise the money necessary to satisfy his angry creditor. Trotzky resumed his voyage to Stockholm, where he stayed several days with a whole gang of anarchists who were anxiously awaiting him to discuss their future

course of action. They did not think that at the moment anything could be done towards forcing out the Cadet Government that had assumed the control of Russia, but Trotzky brutally told them that he did not agree with them at all. On the contrary, he asserted that he would apply himself to the task of compelling that cabinet to resign by bringing forward questions which would embarrass it considerably.

Trotzky had vast plans as to what he was going to do, for which I do not believe he alone was responsible. He declared that in spite of the obstacles which he was told he would encounter he meant to make it his business to preach in Russia the doctrine of anarchy and to explain to the people that their interests required them to seize as soon as possible the property of the hated " bourgou " and annihilate them as quickly and as mercilessly as possible. He was eloquent in his way, perhaps more so than Kerensky, because he had fewer scruples, more violence in his character, and brought into the struggle all the abominable appetites of a man who has spent his life in the stables of society and who wants revenge on those who consider him only fit to be an inhabitant of those stables. He believed in nothing except the enjoyment of the hour, and he was not even ambitious,

for ambition presupposes something noble and honest in a way. He simply practised the doctrine of the man who pushes whoever happens to be sitting in a chair out of it, and he meant to transform this doctrine into a principle.

Altogether he was a man after Herr Steinwachs's and the "Professor's" own hearts, and it is no wonder that they were so delighted at securing his coöperation, knowing as they did that his influence over the Russian proletariat and the Russian masses would be worth more to Germany than winning several battles. During the few days Trotzky spent in Sweden, he organized with the aid of Germany a sort of headquarters for his party with which later on he remained constantly in contact. He did not trust the posts to carry his instructions to his satellites, and when he had occasion to send a message, he always intrusted it verbally to a messenger whom he dispatched across the border. Money was always at his disposal. His trusted friend and to a certain extent adviser was the same M. Adolphe Joffe whom Captain Rustenberg had seen playing equivocal parts on the various occasions he had run across him. Joffe was one of the most important figures in the Bolshevik party and certainly exercised a considerable influence on its leading mem-

bers, such as Lenine for instance, who was clever enough to know that alone he could not hope to master all the difficulties in his way. Joffe was a slimy sort of an individual who exercised strong persuasive powers over people of his own race and blood who looked up to him and believed that he was endowed with considerable political aptitude. He was perfectly well aware that alone and unaided he could not hope to rise to anything and he was astute enough to make his profit out of the advice he was constantly receiving from the German Intelligence Department and to speak apparently in his own name when he was in reality but the echo of other people.

Trotzky acting on the advice of Joffe, when in Stockholm, on his way to Russia, consented to allow German officers to take in hand certain departments of the various Russian ministries in case he should be able to seize the government. He promised to let Germany have her own way in the matter of any negotiations with the Soviets of the Ukraine and the Caucasus and to uphold any decisions that the German government might feel inclined to take in regard to the relations of Russia to the Allies. He agreed to provide with false Russian passports any Germans who wanted to go to an Allied country, and, altogether,

put himself at the disposal of the German government in everything it wanted him to do. The abjectness of his submission was so complete that even the "Professor" expressed doubts as to whether he would ever perform what he had undertaken to do. The German Secret Service in its wildest dreams had never imagined the possibility of finding such a docile instrument as Leon Trotzky proved himself to be.

When everything had been settled and Trotzky was satisfied that through Sweden he could keep in touch with his masters and friends in Berlin, he left for Russia where he was warmly received by Lenine on his arrival in Petrograd, as well as by other prominent anarchists. However he did not start at once on the pro-German propaganda he was to carry on later in such an open-faced way, but set to work in a cautious manner so as not to attract too much the attention of the public to his person or his activity. He was not yet quite sure of his ground and he acted accordingly. But he entered into correspondence with Berlin and this at last attracted the attention of the Russian Cabinet which then discovered his relations with the German Intelligence Department. As I have said, Kerensky was compelled to order Trotzky's arrest, which lasted only three

days because the Soviets clamored for his release. During his short stay in prison, Trotzky was not inactive and posed as a martyr for the cause of socialism. As he had not made his escape while Lenine had contrived to withdraw to a place of safety, Trotzky acquired an immense prestige among the Russian anarchists. This prestige was based entirely on imagination, for if the truth be told Trotzky would have liked to have escaped the warrant which Kerensky was at last induced to sign for his imprisonment, but the anarchist was taken unawares and could not do so. It must be added that when he was taken to the police station before he was sent to prison, he was in such a state of funk that he could hardly say a word and trembled like a leaf. The man was only a braggart, and to this day it is incomprehensible how he could rise to his subsequent position of importance. At least it would be incomprehensible if one did not know the power of money and was not aware that Germany spent money like water in order to secure for Trotzky the prominent position which he seized so quickly and easily.

As soon as Trotzky was released, he began in real earnest the dirty work he had pledged himself to perform. The Korniloff incident —

one that caused Germany considerable anxiety — happened at this time. If the attempt of the Cossack general had succeeded, it is likely that the treaty of Brest-Litovsk would never have been signed. Here again secret influences interfered and Kerensky was induced to make the most fatal among his many fatal mistakes and to side against the general. I must add that at this juncture, as in so many others, the efforts of Germany to subdue all the orderly elements in Russia and to have them overpowered by the rising forces of the Bolsheviki were attended with such remarkable luck that it savored of the extraordinary and certainly constituted one of the phenomena of a phenomenal epoch. Spending money freely does not explain it entirely. Corruption is only possible to a certain point, and in the whole Bolshevik Revolution this point was surpassed to an extent which is almost incredible — at least it would be incredible if we did not know the base nature of the men who fell victims to this corruption, or rather who accepted it as a matter of course, and who were but too glad to profit by it and enrich themselves at the expense of poor bleeding Russia.

CHAPTER XXIII

HOW GERMAN MONEY WAS TRANSFERRED TO PETROGRAD

I have already spoken of the difficulty which the German Foreign Office found in transferring to Russia the large sums it had decided to put at the disposal of its agents in that country as well as to the Bolsheviki to whom it had promised as much money as should be required in order to secure to Germany not only a separate peace with Russia but also the complete control of the vast material resources of the former Russian Empire. I must add that though the German government declared to whomsoever wished to hear that it was going to win the war and in spite of its most strenuous efforts to persuade its own subjects of the fact, it was far from feeling so assured as it pretended to be. The entrance of the United States into the conflict had alarmed it considerably, for it was well aware of the immense advantages which both England and France would reap by the appearance in the field of such a powerful ally. The necessity of releasing the troops occu-

pied on the eastern front became more and more imperative with each passing day, and the need to have at Germany's disposal the control of new sources of raw materials was also a grave question on which the fate of the war perhaps depended. The German General Staff understood perfectly the difficulties of the situation, and on that account decided that it was worth while making the heaviest financial sacrifices possible in order to come to an understanding with Russia, or at least with what remained of Russia after all its disasters. The necessity of the hour made Germany forget the disgrace of an alliance with such disreputable people as the Bolshevik leaders and even the danger of their being able to spread their mischievous doctrines further than the Russian frontier. The motive of this grave step was to try and obtain by corruption what the luck of war had been unable to secure in spite of the victories which the German army had won whenever it had found itself opposed by the troops of the former Czar.

But to come back to the difficulty of transferring these immense sums for the work of propaganda Germany had decided to undertake. Herr Steinwachs hit upon an ingenious method of sending cash to Petrograd. He enlisted the services of an

establishment of credit in Stockholm, to the director of which he had at one time furnished funds which he required for some stock exchange operation on a larger scale than he would be able to do in the usual course of business. Working with this house Herr Steinwachs embarked in a most complicated enterprise the main object of which was to try and eliminate every trace of the real sources from which Lenine, Trotzky and their friends drew the large amounts of money of which they disposed at one time.

This establishment of credit was none other than the Nya Bank in Stockholm. Ever since the beginning of the war the director, Aschberg by name, had been helping the German government to obtain goods from neutral countries and he had also made himself useful to Germany in other matters. He had, for instance, associated himself with M. Maliniak in arranging the famous interview between M. Protopopoff and the Banker Warburg during the autumn of 1916. Aschberg had been present at this interview and had discussed with the Russian statesman the conditions under which peace might be concluded between Russia and the German Empire. The Swedish banker was an exceedingly able man and one to whom the manipulation of figures was child's play

so completely had he mastered the art. Later on when the United States government published the documents which established the part played by the Nya Bank in financing the Bolshevik movement in Russia, Aschberg protested indignantly against the "libel," as he called it, and offered to have the books of the bank examined by the Allies, a proposition that could only provoke a smile as it was quite evident that nothing would be found in the books which would justify the statements contained in the documents unearthed by the American Secret Service. So far as the Nya Bank was concerned the transfer of money to Lenine and his friends had been made in the name of persons which nothing could connect with the agitator or his party.

The fact of the matter was that the Nya Bank, as Captain Rustenberg well knew as he was one of the people who were concerned in this transaction, transferred something like fifteen million rubles to the account of a certain Furstenberg in Luleo in Finland, debiting this sum to Warburg in Hamburg. Furstenberg in his turn made it over to Trotzky's trusted agent Antonov who went to Haparanda to receive it. Here it must be noted that the money was forwarded from Luleo to Haparanda. Antonov carried part of

it to Petrograd and transferred the rest to Mme. Soumentay at Helsingfors. She sent it in a letter of credit on Moscow to Lenine's wife who handed it to Kozlovsky on whom was laid the duty of distributing it among the members of the Soviets. After all these manipulations it was extremely difficult to find out the real origin of these sums, and it would have been next to impossible to do so, if Herr Steinwachs, who was always careful, had not kept the duplicate of the original transfer made by the Prussian State Bank and by the Deutsche Bank in Berlin to Mr. Warburg, which enabled the Director at a certain moment, as I shall relate presently, to hold a pistol at the heads of Lenine and Trotzky.

In addition to these fifteen millions which were but the initial payment in the vast conspiracy which was to prove so successful, other millions were put at the disposal of the Bolsheviki out of the money which the German government had on deposit in the different Russian banks and which had been sequestrated at the beginning of the war. How much this was would be difficult to say, but I can say that one of the reasons why Lenine and Trotzky closed all the banks and had all their books destroyed was because they wanted to obliterate all traces of the gigantic bribes which

they had accepted and in their turn handed to others.

Madame Soumentay made another journey to Finland and met German agents who handed to her nineteen million rubles which, according to a special arrangement, were to constitute the personal reward of the following: Lenine, Trotzky, Zinovieff, Antonov, Kamenev, Kozlovsky and herself. Joffe was not included in this list as it was understood that he was to receive a special gratification. The money destined for Lenine was not paid to him but to his wife in whose possession part of it was found during a house search in her flat in the three days Trotzky was in prison and her husband in hiding in Finland.

There is an amusing incident connected with this last sum of nineteen millions. The German Foreign Office cavilled at the generosity of its Intelligence Department and tried to reduce the amount it had engaged to hand over to its Russian friends. The " Professor," who always held the opinion that honor ought to exist between thieves, even if he did not consider it indispensable among honest folk, did not care to disappoint Trotzky and the other anarchists. Angry discussions on this subject occurred between the " Professor " and the German Chancellor which might have

taken an acute form if Herr Steinwachs had not come forward with a brilliant idea which settled the question to the satisfaction of everybody. When the German government occupied Poland, it had had printed in Berlin Russian banknotes with which it paid the expenses of its army of occupation in the newly conquered country. Herr Steinwachs suggested that they should pay Trotzky with this spurious paper money and it was done. The latter never said a word, perhaps because he knew that it would have been useless to protest. But when the German Embassy was re-established in Russia and the new Ambassador Count von Mirbach arrived in Moscow, Trotzky sent for the director of the bank where the German Envoy was accredited and handed over the rouble notes which he had received from Germany against genuine notes. Then Trotzky instructed the director to use the false notes in paying the Count whenever the latter tried to use his letter of credit.

There was another person who played a considerable part in this business of subsidizing the Bolsheviki — a certain Polish Jew named Radek who had been spending his time between Christiania, Copenhagen, Stockholm and London where he went once or twice during the first months

of the war. Before the overthrow of the Kerensky government this Radek was the means of communication between the German and Russian revolutionaries. He was an exceedingly pleasant person who pretended that he was a journalist and in this rôle he secured an entrance into various circles where he would never have been admitted otherwise. The German Foreign Office had a very high opinion of him, and though he was constantly quarreling with another of its agents, Parvus who made his headquarters at Copenhagen, the special pet of the "Professor," he was considered so useful that they overlooked in his case the principle which governed the whole organization — that of never tolerating any discord between the people whom it employed in matters where their duties were concerned.

Radek was the connecting link between the Poles of Galicia, Posen and the south of Russia. They never suspected his identity but believed him a sincere patriot. Captain Rustenberg had occasion to appreciate his ability and the insinuating manner with which he contrived to win the confidence of the people whose secrets he wished to penetrate. Radek was utterly unscrupulous and he is supposed to have been the man who first suggested to Trotzky the advisability of getting

rid of the unfortunate Nicholas II and shifting the responsibility and blame for this atrocious murder on the Ural Soviets. These Soviets were composed entirely of men sent from Petrograd with orders to execute the Czar, a crime that had already been decided upon when the former ruler was removed from Tobolsk to Ekaterinburg. In his way Radek was another fanatic of the Lenine type, but he was far more refined than the latter, and had better manners as well as the appearance of a gentleman which the Russian anarchist never pretended to be. He understood perfectly the psychology of the people with whom he had to deal, and he always declared that there was nothing bad enough or mean enough that one could not propose to Trotzky to do, provided he was paid sufficiently for it.

I may add that so far as Captain Rustenberg's experience with Trotzky was concerned, he found that this severe judgment was entirely justified and one of the reasons for his retirement from his position in the German Secret Service was the repugnance he felt towards this obnoxious individual with whom he was so often thrown in contact.

CHAPTER XXIV

TROTZKY IS TOLD TO KEEP HIS PROMISES

I suppose that I shall surprise no one when I say that nobody in Berlin trusted Trotzky in the least. He was a necessary instrument in the work that had been started and its importance justified any kind of expenditure or compromise in its accomplishment. But at the same time neither the "Professor" nor Herr Steinwachs, who had more to do with Trotzky than anybody else, had ever believed that he would ever be anything more than an instrument. Without him the dismemberment of Russia would have been impossible because no one in that country would ever had sufficient courage and unscrupulousness to consent to it. It required the astuteness of an interested fanatic like Lenine and of a Jew adventurer like Trotzky to bring it to pass.

And even Trotzky at one time felt something which bore a faint resemblance to qualms of conscience. He had believed that he was cleverer than was the case and had imagined that if he

only succeeded in becoming the master of Russia, he would be strong enough to keep the German invasion at bay and to refuse to fulfill the unsavory mission with which he had been entrusted. When he was put to the test, he prevaricated, fenced about, piled one excuse on top of the other, and tried to escape from the chains which bound him. Of course it was of no avail, and at the last he had to acquiesce in many things when he would have preferred to refuse.

All his steps in Petrograd were watched. He wanted money, and the only people from whom he could get it were Shylocks in their way. Here it may be remarked that one of the principal actors in the final act of the sad tradegy at Brest-Litovsk was a banker named Rubinstein. Before the war he had played an equivocal part in the financial world in St. Petersburg and at one time had been arrested by the government of the Czar under the pretext that he had speculated in an unlawful manner on the Stock Exchange. In reality his arrest was due to the suspicion that he was a German agent and the Russian military authorities wanted to assure themselves of the fact, a desire which was frustrated because the financier was far too clever to keep anything of an incriminating nature about his person or in his house.

He was released but expelled from the capital, a punishment he bore with equanimity for he knew that his exile would not be of long duration. Previous to the war he had been instrumental in buying an enormous quantity of shares in various banks and industrial enterprises in Russia for the account of the German government. It used him as its man of straw and he made large sums in these transactions. When he saw that the hour had struck when once more he would be a financial power in Russia, he put himself at the disposal of the German Intelligence Department to facilitate any financial matters it might have to handle in Petrograd or Moscow.

Trotzky detested and feared Rubinstein, as the financier had been clever enough to let him know that he had sufficient evidence that he was the tool of Germany against him to induce Trotzky to leave him severely alone. In his way Rubinstein was a Bolshevik too, inasmuch as he strongly objected to any one possessing what he lacked for himself. In other respects he was as conservative as the man in the French Revolution who was asked what he would do if circumstances changed and another government should compel him to return to the vast estates he had bought after they had been confiscated from members of the

nobility. His reply was that he could not see how such a thing could be done considering that he had acquired these estates legally.

I must remark here, that in the documents published by the United States government which relate to the bribery of the Bolsheviki by Germany there is a document, No. 68, dated Berlin, July 14, 1917, which is signed by the same Parvus to whom I have already alluded. The document contains the following phrase: "Mr. Mir, Stockholm: We are transferring to your name through Mr. I. Ruchvergen 180,000 marks for the expenses of your journey to Finland. The balance will be at your disposal for agitation against England and France. The letters of Malianik and Stocklov which were sent were received and will be considered."

It has been supposed that Mir, which signifies peace in Russian, meant Lenine who at that time was in hiding and was suspected of being in Stockholm. These suppositions are not correct. Lenine never came to Sweden at that time and was hidden in Finland during the brief period of his banishment from Russia. The nickname Mir was used by Kozlovsky who in that month of July, 1917, came to Sweden secretly to hold conferences with Herr Steinwachs and other mem-

bers of the German Intelligence Department. Malianik is an error in translation and should read Maliniak. Stocklov was an alias which was used in turn by Antonov and Kameneff, while Ruchvergen is another alias under which Rubinstein travelled several times to Paris and London before the war and which he also used in moving about in Russia and Finland after it had started.

I have sometimes tried to fix in my mind the exact responsibility for the ruin of Russia on the persons who were most answerable for it. I at first thought that with all my knowledge of the inner workings of the German Secret Service this would be an easy matter. But when I plunged into the subject, I was to discover that in the association of traitors called Lenine, Trotzky and Company no man existed on whom it was possible to put the burden of the blame for the disgraceful transactions which culminated in the treaty of Brest-Litovsk more than on any other. They were all equally guilty, all equally venal, and all equally criminal.

This so-called peace over which the Germans made such a fuss was just as much a crime from the German point of view as it was from the Israelitic, for no real Russian took part in it with

the exception of Lenine, and he refused more than once to call himself a Russian, claiming that he was an Internationalist before everything else. It was a crime from the German viewpoint because it shattered the last fragments of respectability which Germany still possessed in the eyes of neutral nations, and it was such a flagrant breach of the most elementary notions of honor and generosity from a conquering foe to a defeated enemy that it simply fortified the idea with which the Allies had tried to impress the world from the first days of the war — that the Germans were a people with whom one could have no dealings or with whom one could treat. It would have been infinitely more respectable for Germany to seize Russia as it seized Belgium and declare that it was her property than simply compel Russia to give in to her and to add disgrace to her misfortunes and burdens.

This is of course a digression; I now return to Trotzky. It sounds almost incredible, but for a time the man had the idea of having himself proclaimed Emperor or at least Dictator of Russia and as such to assume absolute control of all its riches and possessions. His head had been quite turned by his phenomenal success which he meant to carry on to the utmost limits, eliminating from

his path every obstacle which could prevent him from carrying out his plans. This went so far that if the reports from German agents which reached Berlin during the summer and late autumn of 1917 are true, he inspired the two attempts which were made at that time to assassinate Lenine of whom for many reasons he would like to have rid himself.

At first he attempted to fool Germany about the pact he had with her by granting some of her minor demands such as the establishing in Petrograd of a special section of the General Staff at whose disposal he placed spacious offices in one of the Imperial Palaces which his followers had seized. He allowed German agents to issue orders to the army in his name, and he pretended to accept as true the reported demands for an immediate peace which came from all parts of the country, demands which in reality had in large part been fabricated in Petrograd by his orders. These demands furnished him with a pretext for starting official negotiations with Germany with a view to a cessation of hostilities which, as he declared, was about to be imposed on him by public opinion in Russia. This last phrase sounded almost like one of derision, when it was taken into consideration that there was no public opinion

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Lenine (on horseback) addressing a pacifist demonstration in front of the Winter Palace

in the former realm of the Czar, for all who might have contributed to forming one were either killed or in prison. Trotzky had an easy way of getting rid of his enemies and adversaries. He either murdered them or put them under lock and key.

But while Trotzky pretended submission to Germany's wishes he was in an underhanded way working against her and trying to get rid of her. When he realized at last that this would be impossible, he put obstacles in her way so as to oblige her to make more concessions than she already had done in money matters. He had a tremendous appetite and his followers shared it with him. They began by asking for thousands; these turned into millions, and there seemed no reason why the millions should not be transformed into billions. By that time Russian money had lost its value, so that a large amount was required to make up what Trotzky and his friends considered a modest sum.

All these prevarications, however, availed him nothing though they hampered Germany considerably on her way. At last it was decided to carry matters off with a high hand, and one fine morning Trotzky and Lenine were told that they had to repair to a certain spot on the Finnish

border where both Herr Steinwachs and the "Professor" himself would interview them.

They did not like this. Indeed they would not have been human if they had, for it required no enormous intelligence to understand that this meeting was unlikely to prove a pleasant one. But resistance was out of the question, and so the two friends or rather the two accomplices in the conspiracy about to unfold itself started on their journey though not without considerable misgivings as to its results.

If they had been left to the tender mercies of Herr Steinwachs alone, it is likely that they would not have fared well by any means. But the "Professor" all his life had been used to diplomatic blandishments, and he never cared to call a spade a spade. He therefore received the two anarchists with a bland suavity and tried to put them at their ease as much as possible. Then he mentioned the necessity of keeping certain promises that had been made. When Trotzky tried to assure him that this had been done, the "Professor" contradicted him so mildly that anyone who did not know him would never have suspected that he was extending to his visitor a hand gloved in velvet but made of hard steel. He did not allow Trotzky or Lenine to offer any

excuses and he invariably brought them back to the beginning of the conversation. At last when Trotzky attempted to gain time by saying that things could not be hurried because the feelings and opinions of the army and proletariat had to be considered, the "Professor" pulled a small slip of paper from his pocket and put it under Trotzky's eyes, adding at the same time that probably he would not care for any one to know its contents, not even Mr. Lenine.

This paper was a copy of the secret service reports which the German Intelligence Department had made from time to time in regard to the past career of M. Braunstein. From these reports it could be proved that while he pretended to be working for Germany, he had received money from the Russian government for spying on Germany, and that in general he had been playing a double game all through his political activity, if a career like Trotzky's can be called by that name. The paper also contained the phonograph records of his various conversations with the directors of the Secret Service in Berlin which had been taken and kept without Trotzky's knowledge.

After Trotzky had read this paper things went off smoothly, and the "Professor" and Herr

Steinwachs parted from the rulers of Russia with the assurance that the delegations of their respective countries would meet within a few days in a spot to be selected by Germany for the purpose of at last signing a peace treaty. This treaty was to establish forever German rule in what had once been Russia.

CHAPTER XXV

THE KAISER'S NEW FRIEND, M. ADOLPHE JOFFE

If we are to believe the reports which came from this journey of the two anarchists to Canossa, Lenine and Trotzky did not feel particularly elated at the results of the "friendly" interview they had had with Herr Steinwachs and the "Professor." Trotzky indeed did not hide his sorrow and discouragement. His ideals, if such a man can be said to have any, had been rudely shattered, and he had discovered that while he had thought himself more clever than other people there were those in the world who were much more clever than he was. The discovery did not please him in the least, the less so that, as he had ascertained at his peril, he was bound hand and foot to the masters whom he had himself selected and to whom he had promised, if not sworn, allegiance, in a moment of weakness he deplored without regretting. He was shrewd enough to know that the incident between him and the "Professor" might be repeated ad infinitum;

that his hold over the country of which he had believed himself the absolute dictator was precarious in the extreme and depended entirely on the good will of those who after making a puppet of him held him at their mercy.

Of course it quite entered into his views to say that Russia was so entirely worn out by the three years of war and the Revolution it had just gone through, that it could not go on with any struggle and that the only thing it could do was to lay down its arms and accept the mercy, such as it was, of its enemies. But Trotzky did not want to see the enemy established in his own stronghold and ruling in Petrograd and Moscow just as if he did not exist. This hurt his feelings and wounded his vanity, and though he said nothing, yet he had thought a good deal while listening to the smooth words of Herr Steinwachs and the compliments of the "Professor." Nothing in the world, however, can fight against facts, and it was certain facts that Trotzky, alias Braunstein, would have liked to be rid of. When he returned to Petrograd, it was noticed that he was quite melancholy and out of temper, and that though he was quite as violent in the expression of his opinions he appeared less eager than ever before to put them into practical use. Once or twice

he quarrelled with Lenine, who, somber fanatic that he was, urged him to fight against what was left of the old state of things in Russia and especially against the hated "Bourgous" by which was meant anybody who possessed anything in the world besides his own skin. He also urged Trotzky to bring about the establishment of this new era about which they had been talking so many years, an era in which perfect equality was to reign; when no one would be richer than his neighbor, and when the only men of genius recognized in the world would be Trotzky and his friends Lenine and Company.

It is impossible to tell what would have happened in this situation if another person had not interfered, one to whom the name of the third robber whom the old French saying *le troisième larron* has made famous might be applied. This third person was no less a personage than our old friend M. Adolphe Joffe, now an important figure in the world of politics.

Joffe had not been in Petrograd during the months of July and August, 1917, and had only returned to the capital after the November Revolution which had put his friends in power. He was far too prudent to expose himself to any peril, and he thought himself far too important

a being to run the risk of depriving his party of his invaluable services. He had, therefore, elected to spend these months of uncertainty in Berlin where he had become quite *persona grata*, and which he preferred to any other place in the world, perhaps because there was none other where he was appreciated so well. He had shown himself most useful to the German Intelligence Department in keeping it posted as to what went on in anarchist circles in Germany where the renown of his Russian prowess had secured him an easy entrance. When Herr Steinwachs returned to Berlin after his memorable interview with Lenine and Trotzky, he sent for M. Joffe who did not lose a moment in responding to his appeal. They discussed the situation together and then M. Joffe packed his carpet bag — he had hardly any other luggage; revolutionists generally travel light — and boarded the first train that would carry him back to Petrograd.

Joffe was welcomed in Petrograd by his friends, who if not exactly enthusiastic were at least cordial. He was considered the clever man of his party and was supposed, no one could tell why, to be an able diplomat, who some day, if it pleased Germany to declare him so, might become a statesman of ability and experience. At all events he

was possessed of that Jewish cunning which makes persons of his race open their ears, listen to what goes on around them, and make a profit out of it. M. Joffe did not need to open his ears — Nature had provided for everything that he required in that respect, and had also given him ears which were wide enough and large enough to allow him to gather every kind of noise that went on around him. He was a crafty individual, susceptible of great things in the way of meanness and treachery. When he saw Trotzky, he noticed at once that something had gone wrong, more so than he had believed it possible, even after his interview with Herr Steinwachs who had not kept secret from Joffe that he, the Director, had had to apply thumb screws to his friend. And Joffe forthwith proceeded to find out what was troubling to such an extent the immortal Braunstein.

Trotzky was only too glad to unburden himself to his comrade in the Republic or rather in the State which owned Lenine for one of its leaders, and he told Joffe the substance of his conversation with the "Professor." Joffe was an ingenious fellow and applied himself to the task of calming down Trotzky's fears and of persuading him that he had nothing to fear; that, on the

contrary, there were still glorious days in store for him, if he would only bring common sense to his aid and listen to the good advice which he was going to give him.

Trotzky listened and was duly rewarded, for he found that the difficulties which, as he had thought, would beset his path, could be cleared away at relatively small cost, provided that a certain amount of diplomacy were exercised, so as to make the public swallow bitter pills with good grace.

First of all Joffe developed the marvelous, even bordering on genius, idea of saying that Russia was neither at war nor at peace with Germany. This meant that she was determined to please everybody, which in her particular case meant Germany and the Allies. After that it would be easy to provoke desertions in the army and to spread the seeds of discontent among the peasants and the proletariat with the result that peace would become almost a necessity against which nothing could prevail, because it would be established in some way or other in a passive, if not in an active, one.

It must be remarked in regard to the desertions in the ranks of the army which became a normal thing during that fateful autumn and winter, that

a large number of them were provoked by the government and were due to an active German propaganda which persuaded the men that unless they left their regiments and returned home, they would not receive anything in the general distribution of land to which the authorities were already proceeding. In reality the government, such as it was, was doing nothing of the kind and never meant to do anything of the kind, for Trotzky as well as several of his companions in iniquity were buying up large estates from members of the aristocracy eager to get rid of them so as to save something out of the wreck of their fortunes. Of course the anarchists never intended to hand these lands over for partition among other people.

This program of propaganda had been faithfully executed and it allowed the Germans to enter Riga which was abandoned to them without the faintest effort being made to resist their advancing troops. This fact implied that Petrograd was in danger and of course after that it became the duty of Trotzky to try and conclude the best possible peace in a hurry. So at least was the explanation he and Lenine gave the public. Though Lenine had kept relatively quiet during the preliminaries of the great treason about

to be performed he had nevertheless on the sly fanned all the flames that were about to be let loose.

At this juncture M. Joffe modestly offered his service as a mediator between the German General Staff and the government of which his friends were members. He prided himself on an intimate acquaintance with many influential personages in Berlin and hinted that the Kaiser himself had not disdained consulting him upon occasion when he wanted to be better informed than he could be through the reports of his own agents as to what was going on in Russia.

Trotzky caught at this suggestion, and M. Joffe was sent to the German Headquarters in great secrecy. He was well treated there and William II actually invited him to lunch and made the Jew sit at his left hand, the Crown Prince being at his right. M. Joffe thought he was in Heaven. Fierce anarchist that he professed to be, he was nevertheless elated at the honor awarded to him.

The Kaiser was delighted with Joffe; probably he had never seen a more amusing ambassador, and the originality of this new type of diplomat amused and interested him extremely. When they parted it was with a warm handshake and the solemn promise on the part of William II

that he would require the Russian government to accredit M. Joffe to Berlin as a special envoy after the conclusion of peace. The latter made an immediate profit out of this promise, and proceeded together with some friends in the German capital to lay the foundations of several important financial transactions which he meant to carry through to a prosperous end on his return in his new capacity of Representative of the Russian Republic.

One thing he settled to the general satisfaction — that neither Lenine nor Trotzky would be required to come to Brest-Litovsk, the town which had been selected as the seat of the conference that was to settle the fate of the war on the eastern front. They were to send delegates with full instructions and widely extensive permissions to speak in their names. Later on this arrangement would allow the two anarchists in case of emergency to say that they had had no hand in the ignominious treaty about to be signed and that those to whom they had delegated their power had not consulted them but had acted on their own initiative. And it would relieve the German plenipotentiaries of the necessity of sitting at the same table with individuals whom they despised while making use of them. Indeed, Prince

Leopold of Bavaria who was to be the Chief German High Officer entrusted with the negotiations had declared that he would never under any circumstances whatever see or have anything to do with Trotzky and Lenine. This good prince did not seem to realize that between the two individuals and M. Adolphe Joffe who was to have the place of honor on the Russian mission, there was only the difference between one Jew and another, or between one Bolshevik and another.

CHAPTER XXVI

AT BREST-LITOVSK

For some weeks Lenine and Trotzky tried by every kind of subterfuge to put off peace negotiations, not because they felt compunction about the terrible deed they were about to perform and sanction but because they considered that they had not been paid sufficiently for it. They tried to drive a harder bargain than they had accepted, pretending that they had only been paid for services already rendered. On the other hand the German Intelligence Department protested that these services had so far been of doubtful value and that the work of agitation which they had promised to carry out had not been done in the proper manner or spirit. The documents published by the United States government prove the absolute accuracy of my statement. In Document 45, dated February 4, 1918, the head of the German General Staff in Petrograd, Major Lubert, generally known in his secret service work

as Agasfer, wrote to the Bolshevik Commissar for Foreign Affairs, M. Chicherin, as follows:

"By instructions of the representatives of our staff, I have the honor to ask you immediately to recall from the Ukrainian front the agitators Bryansky, Wulf, Drabkin and Pittsker. Their activity has been recognized as dangerous by the German General Staff."

Another document just as significant is dated February 3, 1918. It is signed by the same "Agasfer" and is also addressed to Chicherin. It reads:

"According to instructions of the representatives of our General Staff, I have the honor once more to insist that you recall from Esthonia, Livonia and Courland all agitators of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet of Workmen and Soldiers' deputies."

What had happened was this. Trotzky and Lenine had promised the German government that if they were furnished with sufficient funds to do so, they would send agitators into the Baltic provinces. The large landowners in these provinces were the only ones in sympathy with Germany and the Lettish population, on the other hand, showed violent antagonism to her. The

two anarchists also promised to start a peace propaganda in the Ukraine where separatist tendencies had recently come to the fore. The German Staff thought the plan good, but Trotzky, once in possession of the money for which he asked, had used it to foment a violent propaganda not for peace but for Bolshevism. This was not quite the same thing, though just as expensive, considering that he appropriated for his own use and that of several of his trusted lieutenants part of this money. Of course the German Intelligence Department discovered the secret at once, but it was very difficult to make either Trotzky or Lenine responsible for this breach of faith. They had the ready excuse that what had taken place was not their fault, but that they had simply been mistaken in regard to the real feelings of the men they had sent to the different places where it had been thought that a dove holding an olive branch in its beak would prove an acceptable visitor.

Trotzky tried to carry with a high hand the position, out of which he had thought for a time he would be stormed, by retaliating on the German Staff and accusing it of duplicity in its conduct towards the Bolsheviki in regard to Finland. He pretended that the German govern-

ment was helping in turn the different parties which were fighting for supremacy in that country. This reproach was founded on fact, and this of course made the German position rather embarrassing. Thanks to the good advice he had received from his friend Joffe, Trotzky had at last mastered the situation. He now understood what he had failed to grasp during his momentous interview with the "Professor" and Herr Steinwachs when he had been fairly scared out of his wits that it would be just as embarrassing for the German government to disclose the documents it possessed against him as it would be for him if they became public property. It was a case where corrupter and corrupted were both so vile that there was nothing to choose between them. So Trotzky could in a certain sense afford to smile and snap his fingers at the "Professor." Trotzky had grasped the fact that it was impossible for Germany to admit that she had bought peace by an unholy compact with a gang of adventurers and this knowledge gave him a strength he had never had before. For, and I believe that this is a fact which has never been thoroughly appreciated, Trotzky was essentially a coward. When he was arrested, he became so nervous that it was pitiful to watch him crawling and begging for mercy, and in gen-

eral showing all the abjectness of his nature. But like all cowards he was a braggart, and once he knew that he was safe he became as insolent as he had been humble before. This attitude, though it exasperated the German Intelligence Department, put it in an embarrassing situation, for there were moments when Trotzky turned against it and made its chiefs feel that they were as much at his mercy as he was at theirs.

In the meantime M. Joffe was working steadily. During that fateful winter of 1917-18, he made at least six journeys to Sweden and to Germany, and with a financial skill that did him credit he settled what to him was far more important than the fate of Russia as a nation about which he did not trouble at all — he arranged its future from the industrial and commercial point of view. In accomplishing this he contrived to get the gratitude embodied in several large checks from different German and Austrian banks to which he assured by secret agreements which he undertook to have approved by his government enormous advantages and the most complete control of Russia's resources, finances and industry.

One of the conditions of these agreements was that no private banks should be allowed to open in Russia without the consent of the Union of

German and Austrian banks, while those which had existed before the Revolution were to be liquidated immediately and their licenses were not to be renewed. A special agreement was entered upon about the disposal of the enormous quantities of Russian notes thrown on the market as a result of the Bolshevik adventure. They formed an amount about which no one cared to speak for fear of scaring his neighbor and were a most serious item to be considered when a permanent settlement was reached. Here the financial abilities of Joffe came to the fore brilliantly. He was the owner of millions of these Russian notes, printed since the fall of the Romanoffs, and he wanted, of course, to get rid of them under the best possible conditions. Joffe, therefore, arranged that the expenses of the army of occupation in Russia should be paid by Germany in these notes, as well as all her acquisitions of raw materials and other articles of which she was to have a monopoly according to one of the clauses of the peace treaty about to be signed. The acceptance of these notes was to be made compulsory, and in this way Germany after having the chance of buying this so-called Russian money for about a hundredth part of its nominal value would be able to hand it back to its former owners at face value.

By this rather doubtful financial operation she would execute a brilliant feat of commercial genius for which, M. Joffe felt convinced, she would feel grateful to him.

As a preparation for this operation, German agents started buying rouble notes wherever they could be found and all the Bolshevik leaders hastened to offer as many as the agents wanted. Special messengers furnished with diplomatic passports were constantly traveling from Russia to Berlin through Warsaw carrying with them valises full of this worthless money. Rumor says that Joffe exported fifteen millions for his personal account for which he received about a third of that sum. This constituted a handsome profit when one considers that he risked nothing in this remarkable transaction except his reputation in history, about which he cared nothing for he did not believe in the retributive justice it deals people who fall under its judgments.

Indeed M. Joffe proved himself of immense service to the Bolshevik cause and administration. He paved the way for the negotiations which were started at last at Brest-Litovsk and which culminated in the treaty signed on that fateful day which saw the betrayal of Russia consummated. Trotzky made difficulties before he ac-

cepted the choice of this town as the seat of the conference. For one thing he had unpleasant recollections of the place, for he had once been soundly thrashed there by one of his coreligionists who had received Trotzky as a poor exile in hiding from the police. Trotzky tried to carry away the spoons in his bag, but was detected and chastised without mercy or consideration. Everybody had known the story in Brest-Litovsk and probably still remembered it although it had happened years before. Trotzky did not care to have any such reminiscences brought to light as they were sure to be if his name came to be mentioned in connection with the peace that was about to be discussed. So he fenced about and suggested several other places as more appropriate for a peace conference. But he had to do with a strong party, as the Kaiser insisted on the choice of Brest-Litovsk for purely personal reasons. In times long gone by when a mere youth the Kaiser had attended military manoeuvers at this place at the invitation of Czar Alexander III. The Kaiser made some tactless remark and was snubbed by the Russian sovereign who did not relish suggestions as to the possibility of one of his most important fortresses ever falling into German hands. This snubbing rankled in the

Kaiser's mind, and he considered it a moral satisfaction and triumph to have the document which virtually transformed Russia into a German province, signed in the selfsame town that had witnessed his humiliation. Of course his desire prevailed, and Trotzky was told that it was best to submit and make up his mind to the inevitable. He was also told to hurry his decision, as it was indispensable that the treaty be signed at last.

The choice of the delegates gave rise to considerable discussion. As I have said, neither Trotzky nor Lenine wanted to put their names to the document which was about to be drawn up. Neither did they care for too many of their partisans to be implicated in it, as they feared that the latter might revolt at the last moment and protest against the villainy. As a result, though they sent numerous delegates to Brest-Litovsk, only three were authorized to sign the treaty. These three were the inevitable Joffe; Kameneff, one of Trotzky's most trusted lieutenants, and an illiterate Jew named Batzenko. There was an imposing delegation on the German side. Prince Leopold of Bavaria was at the head, but the real leaders were General von Hoffman, one of the strong men of the General Staff, and Baron von Mirbach, who later on was assassinated in Moscow where

he was the Ambassador to the Bolshevik government. An imposing suite of officers of the Intelligence Department accompanied the delegation, and Captain Rustenberg was included among the men who were ordered to watch the proceedings of the conference. As fate would have it, it was the last time that he performed any kind of service for the government in whose employ he had been for years and which he had at last grown to despise and scorn as it deserved to be.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE GREAT BETRAYAL

The German delegation reached Brest-Litovsk a few days before the Russians. Passport difficulties were the reason given for the delay of Trotzky's messengers. The old town for so many years considered one of the most valued possessions of the Russian crown was now the property of an enemy to whom it owed its destruction. It was now a part of Germany. Safe conducts from the German government were indispensable for a Russian to enter. Unfortunately Lenine and his associates were considered Russians, though they themselves proclaimed that they were simply Internationalists who recognized no fatherland but who were content with the title of citizens of the world — a world they certainly had not helped to make better than it had been before they appeared to reform it.

The German government afterwards declared that these passport difficulties did not exist but

served merely as a pretext for the Bolsheviki to delay the negotiations. At all events a peremptory message was sent to Lenine to hasten the departure of the delegates or dire consequences would follow. Lenine did not mind the injunction in the least, and replied to the effect that he wanted to have certain preliminary matters settled before so grave a step, at least he declared that he realized it was grave.

In order not to delay matters an agent was immediately ordered to go to Petrograd and interview the famous anarchist. Lenine refused to receive him under the pretext that he was ill, and Trotzky alone saw him. The latter was considered more adaptable than his colleague, and he knew how to give his exact meaning in a very few words. His conversation with the German envoy was not lengthy. He merely exposed the difficulties in which he found himself in regard to his supporters who had not yet rallied to the opinion that it was indispensable that peace be restored to Russia. He hinted that their resistance could be overcome by the usual means of a generous reward for their conversion. The result of this interview was that another sum of twenty million roubles was transferred to a bank in Moscow, as Petrograd was considered a diffi-

cult place to maintain secrecy in regard to so large a transaction.

This was certainly an unexpected transaction for the German Staff which was at last beginning to have serious misgivings about Trotzky's part and to realize that they ought to get something in return for the lavish expenditure of money in which they were constantly indulging. Herr Steinwachs wired to Trotzky that this twenty millions, which he would personally never have agreed to hand over, would be the last he would ever receive. Therefore he had better make up his mind to fulfill his part of the bargain and not compel his friends to have recourse to measures of coercion which they were firmly determined to apply in the case of further delays in beginning the peace conference.

This time Trotzky realized that matters were getting serious and the day after he had received Herr Steinwachs's message, Kameneff and his staff started for Brest-Litovsk. Joffe had already arrived there and was waiting for them with a mixture of impatience and wonder. As a matter of fact he did not feel quite sure of bringing his friends to see things from his own point of view.

The Bolsheviki, however, are amenable by temperament. Besides, I do not feel certain that

the men to whom had been entrusted the mission of conferring with Germany upon the most important act in modern Russian history realized in the least its importance. The Bolshevik is not a student of history; in fact, he considers it absolutely devoid of importance. He is sometimes an idealist, and more frequently a practical expropriator. In the whole tragedy he only saw chances for a general expropriation of the possessions of the cultured classes for whom he had an unreasonable and unreasoned hatred. Neither Kameneff nor Joffe nor their colleagues gave a single thought to idealism, though Lenine might, during some of his spare moments, have dreamt of an ideal condition of things, where equality would be general and where fortunes should only exist as a property of the state which alone should distribute them among the citizens. But these dreams were never of long duration, for the remembrance of his bank books in different German towns where he and Trotzky had carefully transferred their ill-gotten gains always interfered. At last he came to the conclusion that it was as well communism did not exist everywhere, though he considered it essential to the prosperity of Russia, and even talked of the beautiful thing it would be if its doctrines spread to other lands.

The first day the delegations met in the town hall of Brest-Litovsk passed off without incident. The Russians and Germans studied each other and seemed to measure their ground. But on the second meeting of the conference General von Hoffman took the lead and without even taking the trouble to listen to anything the Russians might say, and some among them did try to say something, he drew on a map a line which in his opinion should be the new frontier. He declared that this was the only frontier that he and his chiefs would consider acceptable.

Even some of the German officials gasped when they looked at that line. Germany was annexing Poland, Lithuania, Esthonia, Livonia, Courland, taking all the fortresses on which Russia had relied for her defence in former times, Riga, the Crimea, Odessa, as well as part of the Caucasus; while Batoum, Novorossisk and all the other important Black Sea ports were to be handed over to Turkey. Vladivostok was to have a German garrison, and Germany was to be granted a full control of the Siberian railway. There would be nothing left to Russia in case she agreed to these monstrous conditions, except her eyes to weep for the disaster which had befallen her.

After General von Hoffman, Baron von Mir-

bach spoke. He claimed other things: an indemnity, the amount of which he did not mention at once; the immediate liberation of the German prisoners of war without any promise of reciprocity on the part of the Germans; commercial treaties which would ruin Russia for years to come; a promise to trade only with Germany in the future, and, finally, the recognition of the independence of the Ukrainian Republic which the German Foreign Office considered indispensable for its security in the future.

Even M. Joffe felt that this was asking a good deal, and he begged for an adjournment of the meeting to allow him to communicate with his government at home. General von Hoffman refused, and brutally replied that it was this or nothing, and he would break off negotiations unless his propositions were accepted. Then Prince Leopold of Bavaria interfered, and took it upon himself to grant Joffe's request. At the last moment the blood of the ancient Wittelsbachs asserted itself, and he feared that history might judge too severely the scandalous proceedings to which he found himself a party.

Trotzky and Lenine were advised of what had taken place, and they instantly saw the advantage which might accrue to them from this incident.

The fact that their delegates had refused to comply with the German demands might save their reputation with their Allies by proving that they were not so ready as they had been reported to be to accept the final humiliation and destruction of their country. They immediately sent telegrams to all their friends and representatives abroad declaring that they were going to break negotiations with the German High Command and resume fighting. They were perfectly well aware that this was easier said than done, but they wanted to be able to say to the world that, when they yielded, it had been to force and not because they had wanted to do so.

Of course the German military chiefs saw through the game, but they could not change anything in the situation which had developed out of their conferences with the Bolsheviki. For a brief moment Trotzky held the trumps in the game, and he might have held them longer if he had not made the mistake of going to Brest-Litovsk for a few hours. He went in response to an urgent summons from General von Hoffman who thought that if he held the anarchist in his power, he might accomplish more with him than the latter had ever imagined.

No one ever understood how Trotzky was in-

duced to make this journey after the repugnance with which he had viewed it before. The truth of the matter was that the anarchist feared for his safety in Petrograd, and wanted to make certain arrangements with Germany which would enable him to fly to their lines for protection in case of serious danger.

Trotzky only remained in Brest-Litovsk a few hours, but he had an opportunity to convince himself that unless he showed absolute submission to the masters he had selected of his own free will, he might spend an unpleasant quarter of an hour and never be allowed to return whence he had come. The treaty of Brest-Litovsk, which became a fact a few days later, was virtually concluded during the twenty-four hours which Trotzky spent there as the guest of the German government.

The proclamation of the independence of the Ukrainian Republic was a terrible blow to Trotzky, for he had hoped to find there partisans capable of taking the place of those who were already beginning to fail him in Petrograd and Moscow. But he had reckoned without his host, for though the German government had no objection to the Bolsheviki terrorizing Petrograd and Moscow, it had no intention of allowing them

to make ducks and drakes out of the Ukraine. It was the granary from which the German Staff intended to draw the resources it could not get elsewhere, and the Staff had contributed far more than was ever known to the election of the new Hetman, General Skoropadsky, who out of personal ambition had become the tool and plaything of the German Foreign Office. Trotzky saw that the game was up, so far as he was concerned, in regard to the peace about which he had talked so much and which he now found himself obliged to accept with all its disgusting and disgraceful details. When he left Brest-Litovsk, it was with the understanding that at the moment the German High Command should judge it opportune, M. Joffe and his colleagues would put their names to a document which will always remain as one of the most shameful in history.

On the morning of the day when it was definitely signed, Captain Rustenberg stood in the office of General von Hoffman meditating on the abominable circumstances which had accompanied this immense treachery. Next to him was Herr Steinwachs who had arrived at Brest-Litovsk a few hours before to enjoy the triumph to which he had contributed so much by his clever handling

of the German Secret Service and Intelligence Department. He was looking at the landscape and at the snow covered ground and thinking, thinking. Suddenly he turned to Captain Rustenberg with the words:

"Well, it has been an expensive affair, but what does it matter after all? We have had the proof that our great Bismarck was right when he said that every man has his price."

Captain Rustenberg did not share this opinion, and still thinks that there are people in this world who will not consent to be corrupted, though they may not be found among the ranks of the Bolsheviki. But this story of dirty, sordid intrigue had disgusted him profoundly. He had thought himself a good German patriot and had been working for his country all the time, hoping that it was for the purpose of seeing her become greater than she had been before. At last he had discovered, though he had tried hard to shut his eyes to the fact, that her whole policy had been founded on intrigue, corruption and dishonor. The truth of the matter was that military burdens had grown far too heavy for German shoulders and the country had to be given something in return for its sacrifices. It is impossible for militarism alone to rule the world or a nation with-

out something higher behind it to sustain it. Among the ruling class in Germany there was nothing more than a greed for power, and this sad, sad circumstance was to be the primary cause of its fall. The war had become a necessity in the opinion of the Hohenzollern dynasty and in that of its advisers, unless they consented to give up a portion of their medieval privileges and prerogatives. They could not adapt themselves to their times, and they imagined that the times could be adapted to them. This was the initial error which led to the catastrophe of the World War, an error for which Germany will pay more heavily than even poor Russia paid for the crime of those who ruled her. The story of the Brest-Litovsk treaty is a story of corruption, just as the story of the starting of the war is one of deceit and falsehood. But as I have already said, it is just as shameful to corrupt as it is to be corrupted. Germany never realized this, and therein lies her misfortune. Having no conscience of her own, she could not rise to the level of those who possessed one. This explains the whole tragedy, and when Captain Rustenberg realized it at last, he thought it was high time to retire from the scene, if only to prove that there was one German in the world who did not approve of the invasion

of Belgium and the shameful means by which the consent of Lenine and Trotzky was obtained to the conclusion of the treaty of Brest-Litovsk.

The curtain has fallen on the second act of the greatest drama the world has ever seen. The first one came to the end with the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, which thanks to the Allies has now fallen into the same abyss in which the once mighty and all-powerful German Empire has foundered. I wish I could be as certain that a third act is not to be played before the end of the tragedy. Unfortunately, knowing as I do the sordid intrigues by which the former German government succeeded in getting hold of unfortunate and bleeding Russia and tried to transform it into a dependency, I cannot look towards the immediate future without apprehension. Especially when I consider that Russian revolutionaries and German rebels are the same people and belong to the same gang. It is fervently to be hoped that for the sake of the future prosperity of the world public opinion will not show itself sympathetic to the new rulers of what was once the German Empire. Bolshevism, which at first was engineered and given life and substance by the money and the coöperation of the Prussian Intelligence

Department, has invaded Germany, and in its turn has become so pro-German that it is now imbued with the Imperialistic and Junker spirit which a great humiliation has not killed in Prussia. Germany has perhaps become a new Germany to-day, but that does not mean that she has become a different one. The slow patience and persistence which have always been distinguishing characteristics of this peculiar people and allowed it to prepare itself silently but efficaciously for the day when it might get revenge for the defeat which Napoleon inflicted on it at Jena, this patience and persistence have not been conquered or even subdued.

If we could look into the hearts of the Germans to-day, we should find that they are already thinking of the time when it will become possible to start, perhaps in a different manner from the one they have just used, that conquest of the world, which they have been expecting for so many long years. The difference will consist in the means by which this conquest is to be effected. If Bolshevism is not interfered with, it will become the new army and the new world with which our old culture will once more be attacked. It is useless to nurse illusions on this point. German socialism is absolutely different from French,

English or American socialism, and it will be the weapon of the next war Germany declares on civilization. Already the Russian Bolsheviki are talking of the day when, with the complicity of German anarchism, they will rule the world. And German anarchism stands ready to take the hand of their Slav brothers who became imbued with its pernicious doctrines and were lucky enough to put them into execution, before it had the courage and the opportunity to air them itself.

Therefore we must not allow ourselves to think that the war which Germany fought against the civilized world is at an end. Its military attempt to conquer has failed ignominiously, but the social side which may prove difficult to subdue has not begun. False doctrines are far more dangerous than big guns, and though we may reduce the former realm of William II to utter impotence materially, this will not mean that it may not do us an infinity of harm in the immediate future. This war has created so many problems that the human mind will require time to appreciate their magnitude. Humanity will require, or will think that it requires, a period of rest before attacking them. It is against this natural feeling of enjoying the present for a brief while without think-

ing of the future that I would warn my reader. Germany will not rest; Lenine and Trotzky and the other exponents of their system of government will not rest; the Bolsheviki in Germany and in Russia will not rest, but will continue their silent and underhand work. What the German army has lost, German socialism will try to win back. This must be prevented, if we are not to lose all the advantages which we have won thanks to many cruel sacrifices, to the shedding of so much blood, to the loss of so many young lives, to the despair of so many broken hearts. We must never forget that we have fought our battle in order to make the world safe for democracy and that the new great enemy of democracy is Bolshevism. Let us never let this fact go from our minds, and then only will the generations to come bless us for the peace which they enjoy and which we shall have procured for them thanks to our watchfulness and our spirit of devotion to a great cause.

THE END